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MARLOWE

EDWARD THE SECOND

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE[1], the eldest son of John Marlowe who is described as 'a shoemaker' and 'clarke of St. Maries' in the city of Canterbury, was baptized on February 26, 1564, according to the Register of the church of St. George the Martyr, at Canterbury. He received his education at the King's School in that city, where he was a pupil, certainly between January 1579 and Michaelmas 1579, and probably for some time before and after those dates. He matriculated on March 17, 1581, as a Pensioner of Benet (i.e. Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge; and took the degrees of B.A. in 1583, and M.A. in 1587.

It appears that on leaving Cambridge, Marlowe, like Robert Greene and Thomas Nash and George Peele, came to London. There he was one of a group of university men who for a livelihood wrote poetry, especially plays and translations of classical authors. He is known to have been dramatist to the 'lord Admiral's company' (the Earl of Nottingham), and so it is not unlikely that he was at times an actor as well as a writer of plays.

[1] The poet's name, like almost all other names at that time, is spelt in many ways. We find Marlo, Marloe, Marlow, Marlen, Marlin, Marlyn, Marly, Marley, Marlye, besides the usual form Marlowe. As Dr. Ingleby says of Shakespeare, 'there was no such thing as the orthography, or correct spelling, of a man's name' Shakespeare, *The Man and the Book*, part i, ch. 1.

According to trustworthy traditions of him, he was somewhat wild and unsteady, known as a man of small religious belief and of a scoffing tongue. This is borne out by the manner of his death, and to some slight extent by satirical allusions to puritans in his plays. But he was beloved and regretted by friends and fellow-poets, and his memory probably suffered from the general contempt and dislike of actors and play-writers during the rise and prevalence of puritan opinions.

Marlowe died at the early age of 29, being killed by one 'ffrancis Archer,' in the last week of May 1593, in a brawl at Deptford, where he was buried on June 1, as is recorded in the register of the parish church of St. Nicholas[1].

§ 2. The literary life of Marlowe is contained in the short space of time included within the years 1587–1593. During these years he wrote and placed on the stage five plays:—*Tamburlaine the Great, Part I; Tamburlaine the Great, Part II; The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus; The Jew of Malta;* and *Edward the Second.*

There remain also three Acts of a tragedy called *The Massacre at Paris;* and a portion of another, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, which was afterwards completed by Thomas Nash, and published in 1594 as 'written by Christopher Marlowe, and Thomas Nash, Gent.'

Besides these tragedies Marlowe wrote an unfinished poem called *Hero and Leander*, a paraphrase of Musaeus; translations of part of Ovid's *Elegies* (the *Amores*), and of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia;* some epigrams; and a lyric piece of great beauty, *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*, which is very well known. It no doubt suggested

[1] Cf. Collier, *Annals of the Stage*, iii. p. 113; Dyce, *Marlowe's Works* (1850), Preface; Ward, *History of Dramatic Literature*, i. p. 173; *The Works of Marlowe*, ed. Cunningham; *The Works of Marlowe*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 1885. See also *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxvi.

the name under which Shakespeare alludes to the poet in *As You Like It*, iii. 5. 80:—

> 'Dead shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,
> "Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight?"'

for the latter line is quoted from Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.

§ 3. The following dates may be assigned to Marlowe's plays. *Tamburlaine, Part I*, was written not later than 1587, and acted with great success; and *Part II* was performed very soon after with equal popularity. The production of such a poem as *Tamburlaine* was an extraordinary feat for a young man of less than twenty-three years of age. Although it is, to a modern reader, too grandiloquent and bombastic, 'a ranting play, after the old style of tragedies,' the vigour of its language and the poetical spirit and passion of very many passages gave it at once high rank among the plays of the time, and sufficiently account for its great popularity. *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus* was written about 1588 or 1589[1], and acted in 1594 or earlier. And in 1589-90 there followed *The Jew of Malta*, a play that gave many hints which Shakespeare has used for the surroundings and the character of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*. *Edward the Second*, the best and most finished of all Marlowe's plays, was written about the year 1590, before Shakespeare, who was born in the same year as Marlowe, had produced any play worthy of his name, or of comparison with the masterpiece of his contemporary.

§ 4. The style of Marlowe's tragedies is so marked an advance on that of his predecessors, as to justify us in saying that they begin a new era in the history of dramatic poetry. He was the earliest writer who used the new blank verse for a drama to be performed on the public stage and before a general audience.

[1] Cf. Ward's *Dr. Faustus* (Clarendon Press Series).

The metre was first used by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (born 1518?; executed Jan. 19, 1547), in his translation of Books ii and iv of Virgil's *Æneid*, published 1557. The author says it is 'translated into English, and drawn into a strange metre.' 'The earliest instance of its application to the purposes of the drama was in the tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex* [or *Gorboduc*], by [Thomas] Sackville [Lord Buckhurst, born 1536, died 1608] and [Thomas] Norton [born 1532], acted before the Queen in 1561–2 [18th Jan. 1562]. The example was followed in 1566 in [George] Gascoigne's [1525–1577] *Iocasta*, played at Gray's Inn.... These, it will be remarked, were plays either performed at Court or before private societies[1].'

In skilful hands the new metre gave a poet far greater liberty, for it did not require the definite pause at the end of the second line which rimed verse must naturally have. There was no need to satisfy the ear with the recurrence of the sound corresponding to that which marked the end of the first line, and so to make sense subordinate to antithesis. Thought could flow freely, unconfined by the narrow bounds of the couplet. Still it was some time before the effect of rime was lost. Hence the early blank verse has very frequent pauses at the end of lines, and too often a completion of the sense in a couplet, and so the lines are monotonous. Marlowe did not avoid this weakness in his earliest plays, but a comparison of the versification of *Tamburlaine*, *Dr. Faustus*, and *Edward the Second*, will show that he gradually got rid of the monotony by an increasing variety and change of the pause (which in the earlier writers almost invariably follows the fourth syllable), by the occasional use of an Alexandrine, an irregular line, or a hemistich or half-line. It should be remembered that the exaggeration of high-sounding language of which Marlowe has been accused was, in part at least, intentional, and was meant to supply some of the resonance that the ear would miss in the

[1] Cf. Collier, *History of the Stage*, iii. pp. 107–112, 129–131.

absence of rime. This is plainly stated in the prologue to *Tamburlaine, Part I*—

> 'From jigging veins of rhyming mother wits,
> And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
> We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
> Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine,
> Threatening the world with high astounding terms.

As the poet used his metre with greater ease and success, he trusted less to 'high astounding terms,' and more to skilful variation of the pause and emphasis, and to his own wealth of more simple language.

§ 5. Marlowe's English is such as might be expected from what we know of his education and life. It has the marks of the well-educated young university man of the later part of the Elizabethan age. There is a freedom alike from the archaisms of those who were deeply read in the earlier English literature, and from the quaintnesses of the men of the earlier part of the reign. It is for the most part free from those English idioms which were beginning to appear ungraceful and incorrect to those who had been trained in the more logical preciseness of Latin grammar. An abundance of simple and obvious classical allusion shows the scholar fresh from his reading of well-known poets, as Virgil and Ovid, and the young man piecing out smallness of observation by a fulness of memory. While Shakespeare's simile of the hunted deer makes us feel that he has seen and loved the animal, Marlowe has a quotation from a classical poet, and an antithesis between the wounded deer and the lion after the manner of Euphues. Shakespeare is full of nature and the country life which he has known; Marlowe of the pomp of war of which he has read. The subjects of his plays do not afford much opportunity for the use of those provincial idiomatic English phrases which so mark much of Elizabethan English. With no comedies, with very few scenes that can be called light or comic, and no really humorous character of the lower class, like Shakespeare's

Launcelot Gobbo, or old Gobbo, or the grave-digger, Marlowe's English is not typical of Elizabethan irregularity or freedom. Some instances of irregular concord, a double comparative here and there, or a double negative, and the usual Elizabethan usage of 'thou' and 'you,' scarcely mark his English as different from that of our own day.

§ 6. *Edward the Second* is the play which shows the perfection of Marlowe's powers and style, and is the best example of his workmanship. Moreover it is the one play which, from accidents of editing and printing, has been preserved very nearly as he wrote it. Professor Ward[1] says of it, 'The drama of Marlowe's which seems to me entitled to the highest and least qualified tribute of praise is his historical tragedy of Edward the Second'; and 'none of his plays, except Edward the Second .... is to be regarded as the unadulterated expression of Marlowe's art[2].' It was written about 1590, acted soon after, and set an example of the type of English historical play which Shakespeare closely followed, and which has maintained itself.

Plays from English history had been for some years gaining an important place on the stage. Professor Ward[3] notices the *Kyng Johan*, which is usually (but on slight evidence) assigned to Bishop Bale (1495–1563), as the earliest historical play (circa 1548–50); but there is reason to fix a later date. It represents the history of the reign of King John in rimed verse of no great merit. But the numerous personifications, as of Sedition, Dissimulation, Usurped Power, &c., make it more like a Morality. And the disregard of history

[1] Ward, *History of Dramatic Literature*, i. 193; Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, ed. Ward, p. 1.

[2] *Edward II* was entered in the Stationers' Registers on July 6, 1593; and first published in 1594. Other editions followed in 1598 and 1612 and 1622. The edition of 1594 was not known till a copy was found in the Library at Cassel in 1876. This text has not been republished, but has long been promised by Dr. Breymann.

[3] Ward, *History of Dramatic Literature*, i. 97.

shown in the treatment of King John's character, who is 'a Loller,' 'This good Kynge,' 'This noble Kynge Johan,' (who) as a 'faythfull Moyses,' 'withstode proude Pharao for hys poore Israel'—and the vigorous note of contemporary spirit sounded in attacks upon the Pope (who is called 'Antycrist') and the Papal Supremacy, and upon the use of Latin in the Church services, prevent its being a really historical play after the type of Marlowe and Shakespeare.

In Marlowe's own life probably many historical plays were written and acted; two are well known, *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, 'partly in prose, partly in blank verse frequently of a very rude description,' and *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, a very poor, rough play. And it is almost certain that Peele's *Famous Chronicle of Edward I, sirnamed Edward Longshanks, with his returne from the Holy Land*, had already been acted. Two others also, the *First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, were produced at about the same time (1591 ?). Much controversy has been spent on the question of the authorship of these two plays, and of the plays called the Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI (which are revisions of them), and of the First Part of King Henry VI. There are in the older, and still more in the later forms of them, many points of likeness to Marlowe's diction and to passages in Marlowe's *Edward the Second*. And on the whole it is likely that Marlowe had some hand in the composition of them[1]. These older plays are little more than somewhat rough reproductions of one or other of the popular chronicles, such as Fabyan, or Hall, or Holinshed, with little dramatic construction, and little development of motive and of character.

§ 7. Marlowe's *Edward the Second*, on the contrary, is a fairly typical English historical play. It is history, in the main, well presented, history well dramatised. The wicked

[1] Cf. Swinburne, *Study of Shakespeare*, p. 51.

are punished, but that is rather accidental; for the tragedy is not the poet's, it is part of the history. The poet does not moralise, or teach a lesson. He lets his characters speak for themselves; the audience may see the King's weakness, his coldness to his wife, and his carelessness about his French dominions and the honour of England. They may see the roughness of the Barons, the haughty, selfish, and unpatriotic spirit of Mortimer, the unfaithfulness and hypocrisy of the Queen; and they may form their own judgments.

The dramatic structure is good; the difficulty of presenting so long a period as a whole reign is well and easily got over by careful compression, and by a skilful union of the stories of Gaveston and Spenser—Act ii. sc. 1. And the poet's power is strongly shown in his successful treatment of King Edward himself. The historian writes of the Edward II of history: 'His reign is a tragedy, but one that lacks in its true form the element of pity; for there is nothing in Edward, miserable as his fate is, that invites or deserves sympathy[1].' But the critic, Charles Lamb, says of the king of the dramatist: 'the death scene of Marlowe's king moves pity and terror beyond any scene, ancient or modern, with which I am acquainted.' And a comparison of the *King Edward II* of Marlowe with the *King Richard II* of Shakespeare cannot fail to leave a strong impression of the force, passion, and tragic power of Marlowe.

Other characters too,—Gaveston, the younger Mortimer, and Prince Edward,—bear marks of genius. The easy, light-hearted, scoffing, intriguing Frenchman, the favourite who deserves his fate for the evil he has brought on the realm, yet stirs a certain sympathy with his affection for the King, and his gay impudent air of superiority to his rough unjust enemies. The younger Mortimer, haughty and selfish, coarse and forward in his opposition to the King, no representative of the older patriot Barons, such as Simon de Montfort, or William Marshall, or even Hubert de Burgh, is a fit com-

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. 314.

panion of Thomas of Lancaster. He is rightly presented as rather jealous of the upstart darling of the infatuated Prince, than careful of the law or of the rights of the people. Easily and naturally when the fit time comes, he is the accomplice of an unfaithful queen. He usurps the royal power for his own selfish interest, and ignobly hires a vulgar murderer to get rid of the King. The poet is true to history: he does not, like Daniel or Drayton, lend his genius to make unlawful love into an attractive story of a hero and heroine. Yet Mortimer is just saved from meanness by the high spirit that, to the last, scorns the 'paltry boy,' and spurns 'base Fortune' who has deceived him, and readily

> 'as a traveller,
> Goes to discover countries yet unknown.'

There is much skill in the presentation of Prince Edward. He is the boy too young to be responsible for the doings of father or mother. If it is his duty, he is ready to go to France, ready to return trustfully to his father. No word of scorn for his father passes his lips; no suspicion of his mother is welcome; he is unwilling to believe his uncle a traitor — not willing to take his father's place as king; yet he behaves with firmness and decision. His affection seems to give a naturalness to our pity for the murdered king. Yet his vigorous action hints that a hero king has come to take the place of the weakness which has so naturally worked out its tragical ending.

On the character of the Queen as drawn by the poet, Professor Ward, *History of Dramatic Literature*, i. p. 197, makes this criticism: 'in the character of the Queen alone I miss any indication of the transition from her faithful but despairing attachment to the king to a guilty love for Mortimer.' But the poet's treatment of the character has grown naturally out of the history, and especially out of the mode in which Holinshed has dealt with the Queen. She is at first much attached to the King, i. 4. 160-188, 332-335; ii. 4.

14–20; but is alienated from him by his love of Gaveston, his fondness for the Spensers, and his insulting treatment of herself, i. 4. 145; ii. 4. 22–30, 61. The historians are reticent as to her familiarity with Mortimer, and say nothing of the growth of her love for him. The poet then dwells on the care with which the Queen hides her guilty love and dissembles to the last. The King in his rough ill-temper hints at intimacy with Mortimer very early, i. 4. 154, 320, and Gaveston ventures to do so, i. 4. 147, but it is rather a political intimacy, a friendship directed against Gaveston. It is a hint to the spectators of the play, but no more. The poet lets us see the Queen work on Mortimer, but the Barons find nothing suspicious in their conference, or in the yielding of Mortimer. They recall Gaveston, but they do not doubt her love for the King. Sir John of Hainault, the Barons, and the young Prince, have no suspicion of her even after the change in her affections, noted in ii. 4. 61. She is a 'fine dissembler,' and does not allow the transition to be clearly seen. She keeps up her 'fine dissembling' before them all, iv. 5. 73; v. 2. 26, 68–71, 91; v. 5. 46; v. 6. 85; and the calm cautiousness of her character in its deceit is in contrast to the outspoken love of the earlier portions of the play, when she needed no concealment.

The poet follows Holinshed in this: Kent alone, the creation of his own imagination, discovers her guilty love, as he detects Mortimer's ambition, iv. 5. 22, 23; but she keeps up appearances to the end, v. 6. 85. The lapse of time and the position of Mortimer as champion of the Queen against Gaveston and the Spensers are enough to account for the change. To her he seems at first the noble protector of 'a miserable and distressed queen.'

The transition from the assertion of love to the King to the acknowledgment of love for Mortimer is abrupt in ii. 4. 14, and ii. 4. 59, but it is gentle and natural compared with the scene in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Act. i. sc. 2, in which the wild hatred of a woman mourning over the dead

body of her murdered husband is changed into acceptance of the love of the murderer.

§ 8. The view of the history of the reign given by Marlowe is generally correct. But he omits and condenses freely, so as to make the action more continuous and dramatic. Thus he omits the King's voyage to France and his marriage, the second banishment of Gaveston to Flanders, and the banishment and recall of the Spensers. He transposes the battle of Bannockburn from the seventh year of Edward II to the lifetime of Gaveston, not later than the fifth year of the reign; and thus can present it effectively as a disaster occasioned by the favourite's idle wanton administration, ii. 2. 180–194. The whole story of the Spensers with supreme skill and judgment is connected with that of Gaveston by making the younger Spenser a page, or esquire, in attendance on the Earl of Gloucester's daughter, who is to marry Gaveston, and by representing the elder Spenser as a stranger introduced to the king by his son. The attack of the Barons on the Spensers, which belonged to the twelfth year of the reign, is brought into close connexion with the death of Gaveston in the fifth. The principal movements of the Baronial War—which really consisted of (1) the surrender of the two Mortimers to the King's grace at or near Shrewsbury; (2) operations against Thomas of Lancaster and the Earl of Hereford about Burton-on-Trent and Pomfret; and (3) the signal defeat of those noblemen at Boroughbridge—are easily and naturally related as a single victory gained by the King over their combined forces. Warwick is introduced after the battle of Boroughbridge to meet the punishment due to his murder of Gaveston, whereas in fact his death took place before that battle. In Act v. the whole action is so condensed as to omit the long period of Mortimer's usurpation of power, and swift punishment is made to overtake those who have sinned. Mortimer himself is executed by order of the young King before the body of the murdered Edward has been buried.

§ 9. The character of Edmund Earl of Kent is the poet's own creation. The Kent of his authorities was a wholly unimportant person, who indeed was but six years old when he is introduced by Marlowe as supporting the King in the Council (Act i. sc. 4). Taking a hint perhaps from the indecision of the Duke of York, uncle of Richard II, and more probably from a study of the fickleness of the ill-fated Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, the poet has modelled an effective character (cf. *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, sc. 19, 54-67). Feeble and yet impulsive, as becomes a brother of the King Edward II, he is never 'in one stay.' Hurt and irritated at his brother's infatuation for Gaveston, and feeling with the Barons when touched by the favourite's scoffing tongue, he joins them; and again, vexed at the haughty conduct of Mortimer and his want of respect for the person of the King, he repents of what he has done. Presently he falls between the two parties, the moderate, undecided man, honest, unpractical, of no power.

§ 10. Marlowe is said by Professor Ward and Dr. Wagner to have derived his history for the main part from Fabyan's Chronicle or Concordance of Histories [1]. This was a Chronicle History from the beginning of the world to the reign of King Henry VIII. It was written by a learned man, Robert Fabyan, a citizen and draper of London, and an alderman ('Robertus Fabyan, dudum civis et pannarius London, ac vicecomes (i.e. sheriff) et aldermannus,' as he calls himself in his will), who died A.D. 1511 or 1512.

[1] Cf. 'The Chronicle on which Marlowe based his play is Robert Fabyan's Chronicle.' Ward, *History of Dramatic Literature*, i. 194. 'From the "jig" quoted in Marlowe's play (ii. 2. 186) it appears that his historical authority for the events dramatised by him was most likely the "gossiping" history of England by Robert Fabyan.' Wagner, *Edward II*, p. xv. [Mr. Fleay had already in 1877 pointed out that Marlowe was indebted to Stow and to Holinshed. I did not know of his edition when I was preparing mine.]

Editions of the book were published in 1516, 1533, 1542, 1559, and it was for a long time popular and much read.

There are some instances of close likeness between the Chronicle and passages in the play. But with one exception the likeness is not special, or in details. Marlowe follows the history of Edward II carefully in many minute particulars, and this is precisely what Fabyan did not. It is of importance, no doubt, that at ii. 2, 186, a short ballad is inserted which is, almost word for word, to be read in Fabyan, p. 420. But all else that is in Fabyan may be found elsewhere.

§ 11. There are in the play many small points of detail, for the most part accurately historical, which Fabyan does not mention. They are almost, if not quite, without exception to be found in Holinshed's Chronicle. This great Chronicle, or History, is a continuous narrative of English history based on previous authors, including Fabyan, and giving events in much detail. It was published in 1577, and a second edition was issued in 1586-7. The book soon became popular. It has been proved that Shakespeare based his historical plays on this history, and it is not difficult to show that the same thing is true of Marlowe. The following instances go far to prove the case in detail. In i. 1. 154-6, when the King is showering titles on Gaveston, he says:—

> 'I here create thee Lord High Chamberlain,
> Chief Secretary to the State and me,
> Earl of Cornwall, King and Lord of Man.'

While Fabyan, p. 417, merely notices that he gave him 'the Erledom of Cornewayll and the lordshyp of Wallyngforde,' Holinshed, p. 318, has, 'For having revoked again into England his old mate the said Peers de Gaveston he received him into most high favour, creating him Earle of Cornewall, and lord of Man, his principall secretarie and lord chamberlaine of the realme.'

In i. 1. 175 we have a 'Bishop of Coventry.' This bishop

in Fabyan, p. 418, is 'Bishop of Chester'; but in Holinshed, p. 318, 'bishop of Coventrie and Lichfield,' while the marginal note is 'The bishop of Coventrie committed to prison.'

The oath of which Mortimer speaks, i. 1. 85 (cf. note), is due to Holinshed, p. 320; the notice of the Council meeting at the New Temple, i. 2. 75, to Holinshed, p. 319; the mention of Beaumont, i. 4. 369, to Holinshed, p. 323; the meeting of the King and his favourite at Tynmouth, ii. 2. 51, to Holinshed, p. 321; the notice of Lord Bruse's land, iii. 2. 53, to Holinshed, p. 325; the mention of Rice ap Howell, iv. 5. 55, to Holinshed, p. 339, as well as the sending the Earl of Leicester to find the King in Wales, and the election of the Prince to be Lord Warden of the realm;—and these things are not mentioned by Fabyan. It is also noticeable that Marlowe follows Holinshed in speaking of 'Killingworth,' not Fabyan's spelling of 'Kenelworthe,' and speaks of Henry as Earl of 'Leicester' with Holinshed, and not by his other title as Earl of 'Lancaster' with Fabyan. Still more important is it that the Chronicle of Fabyan passes over the whole of the circumstances of the death of the King almost without notice. Almost all these events are in Holinshed, as well as the account of the interview of the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Leicester with the King, v. 1; and on p. 340, even the argument that if the King will not resign 'the Prince shall lose his right,' v. 1. 92. There is found also, p. 341, the famous enigmatical line of Latin, v. 4. 8, and, pp. 340, 341, an account of the Queen's deceitful conduct, showing that even in his conception of the character of the Queen the poet closely follows his authority.

§ 12. It need not however be surprising if the poet has drawn his history from several sources. For the study of English history was most popular at the time, and books were obtained without serious difficulty. Indeed it is almost certain that Marlowe used the Chronicle of John Stow as his authority for the story of the King being shaved with ditch-water, v. 3. 27, which is not in Holinshed or Fabyan

(and cf. note on i. 4. 378). Stow's General Chronicle had been published in a convenient volume in 1580, and was soon popular. But it is short compared with Holinshed's work, and does not contain many of those details which Marlowe has carefully inserted in his play; in fact it was not graphic enough for the poet's purpose. Thus there is no mention of the New Temple, i. 2. 75; or of Gaveston being Lord High Chamberlain and Chief Secretary, i. 1. 154; of the attack on the Bishop being on account of Gaveston's exile, i. 1. 179; of Tynmouth, ii. 2. 51, 217; of Pembroke's proposal to visit his wife, ii. 5. 95–98; of the young Edward being made Lord Warden of the realm, iv. 5. 35; of Rice ap Howell, iv. 6. 46; of Sir William Trussel, v. 1. 84. When Stow describes the quarrel of the 'Gower' lands, he speaks of 'Sir' William Bruis, and does not mention the King, while Marlowe follows Holinshed in speaking of 'Lord' Bruse, of the King aiding Spenser, and even uses Holinshed's phrase 'to be in hand.' In v. 5. 30 Marlowe speaks of a 'spit' with Holinshed, instead of the 'plummer's iron' of Stow. But while the poet rests for these details on Holinshed especially, there is no need to think of him as a man of one book. For the Elizabethan poets knew the early history of England as it was current, legends and all, and loved to dwell on it. We see this not only in the plays of Shakespeare, but still more strongly in Spenser's *Faery Queene*, ii. 10, and later in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, and in his *Mortimeriados*. And the large number of authorities whom Fabyan, and still more Stow and Holinshed, quote shows the same thing even more plainly.

§ 13. Lastly, it may be noted that Marlowe is prone to use his knowledge of other portions of history in order to present his characters in a familiar form to his audience. Shakespeare used modern and well-known history to the same purpose, when, in *King Lear*, he produced a Duke of Burgundy, who reminded his audience of the famous duke who had married Margaret, sister of Edward IV. So Mar-

lowe's Earl of Kent reminds us of the Duke of Clarence; his Archbishop of Canterbury is made a legate, whose haughty words remind us of the more famous Archbishop Wolsey; and his Protector Mortimer has gained touches of character from the better known Protector Richard Duke of Gloucester, whose tragic story so impressed itself on the minds of Englishmen.

The text of this edition is that of Dyce (ed. 1858), save in such places as are mentioned in the Notes. The references to Fabyan are to the edition of Sir Henry Ellis, 1811; those to Stow to the edition of 1580; those to Holinshed to the edition of 1586-7; those to Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England* to the edition of 1875.

ANALYSIS.

Act i.—Scene 1 opens with Gaveston in London, just come 'out of France,' recalled by a letter from the new King, which he now reads again. Three poor men wish to enter his service; he rejects them haughtily, but remembering that 'it is no pain to speak men fair,' makes promises which he does not mean to keep. A soliloquy further illustrates the character of the favourite. The King and Barons enter, and their conversation is prophetic of future quarrels. When the Barons retire Gaveston comes forward to the King, and on the entry of the Bishop of Coventry the King and his favourite insult and maltreat him. Scene 2 introduces the Barons, in London, enraged at the King and Gaveston; they are joined by the Archbishop of Canterbury angry at the treatment of the Bishop of Coventry, and by Queen Isabella, sad that 'the king regards' her not, 'but dotes upon the love of Gaveston.' They agree that a council shall banish him. After a short Scene 3, in which Gaveston speaks scoffingly of Lancaster, in Scene 4 the Barons and the Archbishop in council at the New Temple are signing an order of exile, when the King and Gaveston enter. The King, forced to yield, bids the exile an affectionate farewell, and appoints him 'governor of Ireland.' In his wrath he accuses the

Queen of fondness for Mortimer, and refuses to see her till 'Gaveston be repealed.' 'The miserable and distressed queen,' by the help of the younger Mortimer, obtains 'the repeal' of Gaveston, and Scene and Act end in a general reconciliation, but with haughty last words from Mortimer foreshadowing the coming storm:—

> 'But while I have a sword, a hand, a heart,
> I will not yield to any such upstart.'

Act ii.—In Scene 1 the younger Spenser and Baldock, 'servants' of the late Earl of Gloucester, determine to attach themselves to Gaveston, 'who hath the favour of the king'; 'their lady,' King Edward's niece, goes to meet her lover Gaveston. In Scene 2 the King, Queen, and Barons at Tynmouth await Gaveston. On his entrance he is scornfully addressed, and in turn scoffs at the 'base, leaden earls.' After bitter words as to the evils brought on the realm by Gaveston and by the King's folly, the Barons go 'to their castles,' and soon 'are up in arms.' Then events move fast: in Scene 3 Spenser and Baldock join the King; in Scene 4 Kent deserts to the Barons; in Scene 5 Gaveston flies to Scarborough, and the Queen in her hatred of him falls wholly under the influence of Mortimer. In Scene 6 Gaveston, a prisoner in the hands of the Barons, is, at the prayer of Arundel the King's messenger, and on the surety of the Earl of Pembroke, entrusted to those two lords that he may see the King once more, but Scene and Act end with a hint that this is not to be:—

> '*Gav.* Sweet sovereign, yet I come
> To see thee ere I die!
> *War.* Yet not perhaps,
> If Warwick's wit and policy prevail.'

Act iii.—In Scene 1 Warwick carries off Gaveston; and in Scene 2 the King sends the Queen and their son to France to 'parley with the king of France.' Arundel reports the death of Gaveston, how

> 'Warwick in ambush lay,
> And bare him to his death; and in a trench
> Strake off his head, and marched unto the camp.'

The King swears vengeance, he will 'have heads and lives for him'; and when the Barons demand that he shall 'remove this Spenser, as a putrefying branch,' he bids the rebels defiance. In Scene 3 the Barons are captives, ordered for execution or prison. The King has recovered his power and the Spensers rule as favourites.

Act iv.—In Scene 1 Kent, driven from his brother's presence, meets Mortimer escaped from the Tower; they cross to France, and, in Scene 2, join the Queen and pass from Paris to Hainault. In Scene 3 the King, pleased with the news of the execution of the rebels, is disturbed by tidings from France, that the associates intend to invade England. He goes 'to Bristow, there to make us strong.' Meanwhile, in Scene 4 the Queen and her friends have landed, and are marching forward 'armèd in the Prince's right,' while Scene 5 shows the King flying, the Queen triumphant, Kent repenting of his union with the associates, Mortimer eager to seize the King, 'Baldock, Spenser, and their complices.' Scene 6 relates their capture in the abbey of Neath.

Act v.—Scene 1 presents the forced abdication of the King, who then is removed from the custody of Leicester to the charge of Berkeley. In Scene 2 the Queen and Mortimer in private conversation show their designs, and plan the King's murder, giving him in charge to Matrevis and Gurney in the hope that bad treatment will wear him out. A feeble attempt of Kent in Scene 3 to rescue the King fails, and in Scene 4 Mortimer, convinced that 'the King must die or Mortimer goes down,' hires a murderer, arranges for the coronation of the Prince, with himself as Protector, and orders Kent away for execution. Scene 5 shows the murder of the King; on which punishment follows swiftly, for in Scene 6 the young King enters with the Peers, confronts Mortimer, and, before going to mourn at his father's funeral, orders him to instant execution as a traitor.

EDWARD THE SECOND.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

KING EDWARD THE SECOND.
PRINCE EDWARD his son, afterwards KING EDWARD THE THIRD.
KENT, brother to KING EDWARD THE SECOND.
GAVESTON.
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
BISHOP OF COVENTRY.
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
WARWICK.
LANCASTER.
PEMBROKE.
ARUNDEL.
LEICESTER.
BERKELEY.
MORTIMER the elder.
MORTIMER the younger, his nephew.
SPENSER the elder.
SPENSER the younger, his son.
BALDOCK.
BEAUMONT.
TRUSSEL.
GURNEY.
MATREVIS.
LIGHTBORN.
SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.
LEVUNE.
RICE AP HOWEL.
MAYOR OF BRISTOW.
Abbot.
Monks.
Herald.
Lords, Poor Men, JAMES, Mower, Champion, Messengers, Soldiers, and Attendants.

QUEEN ISABELLA, wife to KING EDWARD THE SECOND.
Niece to KING EDWARD THE SECOND, daughter to the DUKE OF GLOCESTER.
Ladies.

ACT I.

SCENE I. *London, a street.*

Enter GAVESTON, *reading a letter.*

Gav. My father is deceas'd! Come, Gaveston,
And share the kingdom with thy dearest friend.
Ah, words that make me surfeit with delight!
What greater bliss can hap to Gaveston,
Than live and be the favourite of a king!
Sweet prince, I come; these, these thy amorous lines
Might have enforc'd me to have swum from France,
And like Leander, gasp'd upon the sand,

So thou would'st smile, and take me in thine arms.
The sight of London to my exil'd eyes
Is as Elysium to a new-come soul;
Not that I love the city, or the men,
But that it harbours him I hold so dear,—
The king, upon whose bosom let me lie,
And with the world be still at enmity.
What need the arctic people love star-light,
To whom the sun shines both by day and night?
Farewell base stooping to the lordly peers!
My knee shall bow to none but to the king.
As for the multitude, that are but sparks,
Rak'd up in embers of their poverty,—
Tanti,—I 'll fawn first on the wind
That glanceth at my lips, and flieth away.

Enter three Poor Men.

But how now! what are these?

Poor Men. Such as desire your worship's service.

Gav. What canst thou do?

First P. Man. I can ride.

Gav. But I have no horse.—What art thou?

Sec. P. Man. A traveller.

Gav. Let me see—thou would'st do well
To wait at my trencher, and tell me lies at dinner-time;
And, as I like your discoursing, I 'll have you.—
And what art thou?

Third P. Man. A soldier, that hath serv'd against the Scot.

Gav. Why, there are hospitals for such as you;
I have no war; and therefore, sir, be gone.

Third P. Man. Farewell, and perish by a soldier's hand,
That would'st reward them with an hospital.

Gav. Ay, ay, these words of his move me as much
As if a goose should play the porcupine,
And dart her plumes, thinking to pierce my breast.
But yet it is no pain to speak men fair;

I 'll flatter these, and make them live in hope. [*Aside.*
You know that I came lately out of France,
And yet I have not view'd my lord the king;
If I speed well, I 'll entertain you all.

All. We thank your worship.

Gav. I have some business. Leave me to myself.

All. We will wait here about the court.

Gav. Do. [*Exeunt* Poor Men.

These are not men for me;
I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a string
May draw the pliant king which way I please.
Music and poetry is his delight;
Therefore I 'll have Italian masques by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows;
And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,
Like silvian nymphs my pages shall be clad;
My men, like satyrs grazing on the lawns,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay;
Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
Shall bathe him in a spring; and there, hard by,
One like Actæon peeping through the grove,
Shall by the angry goddess be transform'd,
And running in the likeness of an hart,
By yelping hounds pull'd down, shall seem to die:
Such things as these best please his majesty.—
Here comes my lord the king, and the nobles,
From the Parliament. I 'll stand aside. [*Retires.*

Enter KING EDWARD, LANCASTER, *the elder* MORTIMER, *the younger* MORTIMER, KENT, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, and Attendants.

K. Edw. Lancaster!

Lan. My Lord.

Gav. That Earl of Lancaster do I abhor. [*Aside.*

K. Edw. Will you not grant me this?—In spite of them
I 'll have my will; and these two Mortimers,
That cross me thus, shall know I am displeas'd.

E. Mor. If you love us, my lord, hate Gaveston.

Gav. That villain Mortimer! I 'll be his death. [*Aside.*

Y. Mor. Mine uncle here, this earl, and I myself,
Were sworn to your father at his death,
That he should ne'er return into the realm:
And know, my lord, ere I will break my oath,
This sword of mine, that should offend your foes,
Shall sleep within the scabbard at thy need,
And underneath thy banners march who will,
For Mortimer will hang his armour up.

Gav. *Mort dieu!* [*Aside.*

K. Edw. Well, Mortimer, I 'll make thee rue these words:
Beseems it thee to contradict thy king?
Frown'st thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster?
The sword shall plane the furrows of thy brows,
And hew these knees that now are grown so stiff.
I will have Gaveston; and you shall know
What danger 'tis to stand against your king.

Gav. Well done, Ned! [*Aside.*

Lan. My lord, why do you thus incense your peers,
That naturally would love and honour you,
But for that base and obscure Gaveston?
Four earldoms have I, besides Lancaster—
Derby, Salisbury, Lincoln, Leicester;
These will I sell, to give my soldiers pay,
Ere Gaveston shall stay within the realm;
Therefore, if he be come, expel him straight.

Kent. Barons and earls, your pride hath made me mute;
But now I 'll speak, and to the proof, I hope.
I do remember, in my father's days,
Lord Percy of the North, being highly mov'd,

Braved Mowbray in presence of the king;
For which, had not his highness lov'd him well,
He should have lost his head; but with his look
Th' undaunted spirit of Percy was appeas'd,
And Mowbray and he were reconcil'd:
Yet dare you brave the king unto his face.—
Brother, revenge it, and let these their heads
Preach upon poles, for trespass of their tongues.

War. O, our heads!

K. Edw. Ay, yours; and therefore I would wish you grant—

War. Bridle thy anger, gentle Mortimer.

Y. Mor. I cannot, nor I will not; I must speak.—
Cousin, our hands I hope shall fence our heads,
And strike off his that makes you threaten us.—
Come, uncle, let us leave the brain-sick king,
And henceforth parley with our naked swords.

E. Mor. Wiltshire hath men enough to save our heads.

War. All Warwickshire will love him for my sake.

Lan. And northward Gaveston hath many friends.—
Adieu, my lord; and either change your mind,
Or look to see the throne, where you should sit,
To float in blood, and at thy wanton head
The glozing head of thy base minion thrown.

[*Exeunt all except* KING EDWARD, KENT, GAVESTON, *and* Attendants.

K. Edw. I cannot brook these haughty menaces;
Am I a king, and must be over-rul'd?—
Brother, display my ensigns in the field;
I'll bandy with the barons and the earls,
And either die or live with Gaveston.

Gav. I can no longer keep me from my lord.

[*Comes forward.*

K. Edw. What, Gaveston! welcome! Kiss not my hand;

Embrace me, Gaveston, as I do thee.
Why shouldst thou kneel? know'st thou not who I am?
Thy friend, thyself, another Gaveston!
Not Hylas was more mourned of Hercules,
Than thou hast been of me since thy exile.

Gav. And since I went from hence, no soul in hell
Hath felt more torment than poor Gaveston.

K. Edw. I know it.—Brother, welcome home my friend.—
Now let the treacherous Mortimers conspire,
And that high-minded Earl of Lancaster:
I have my wish, in that I joy thy sight;
And sooner shall the sea o'erwhelm my land,
Than bear the ship that shall transport thee hence.
I here create thee Lord High-chamberlain,
Chief Secretary to the state and me,
Earl of Cornwall, King and Lord of Man.

Gav. My lord, these titles far exceed my worth.

Kent. Brother, the least of these may well suffice
For one of greater birth than Gaveston.

K. Edw. Cease, brother: for I cannot brook these words.—
Thy worth, sweet friend, is far above my gifts,
Therefore, to equal it, receive my heart.
If for these dignities thou be envied,
I'll give thee more; for, but to honour thee,
Is Edward pleas'd with kingly regiment.
Fear'st thou thy person? thou shalt have a guard:
Wantest thou gold? go to my treasury:
Wouldst thou be lov'd and fear'd? receive my seal,
Save or condemn, and in our name command
What so thy mind affects, or fancy likes.

Gav. It shall suffice me to enjoy your love,
Which whiles I have, I think myself as great
As Cæsar riding in the Roman street,
With captive kings at his triumphant car.

Enter the BISHOP OF COVENTRY.

K. Edw. Whither goes my lord of Coventry so fast?

Bish. of Cov. To celebrate your father's exequies.
But is that wicked Gaveston return'd?

K. Edw. Ay, priest, and lives to be reveng'd on thee,
That wert the only cause of his exile.

Gav. 'Tis true; and, but for reverence of these robes,
Thou shouldst not plod one foot beyond this place.

Bish. of Cov. I did no more than I was bound to do;
And, Gaveston, unless thou be reclaim'd,
As then I did incense the parliament,
So will I now, and thou shalt back to France.

Gav. Saving your reverence, you must pardon me.

K. Edw. Throw off his golden mitre, rend his stole,
And in the channel christen him anew.

Kent. Ah, brother, lay not violent hands on him,
For he 'll complain unto the see of Rome.

Gav. Let him complain unto the see of hell,
I 'll be reveng'd on him for my exile.

K. Edw. No, spare his life, but seize upon his goods:
Be thou lord bishop and receive his rents,
And make him serve thee as thy chaplain:
I give him thee; here, use him as thou wilt.

Gav. He shall to prison, and there die in bolts.

K. Edw. Ay, to the Tower, the Fleet, or where thou wilt.

Bish. of Cov. For this offence, be thou accurs'd of God!

K. Edw. Who 's there? Convey this priest to the Tower.

Bish. of Cov. True, true.

K. Edw. But in the mean time, Gaveston, away,
And take possession of his house and goods.
Come, follow me, and thou shalt have my guard
To see it done, and bring thee safe again.

Gav. What should a priest do with so fair a house?
A prison may beseem his holiness. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *London, near the King's Palace.*

Enter, on one side the elder MORTIMER *and the younger* MORTIMER; *on the other,* WARWICK *and* LANCASTER.

War. 'Tis true: the bishop is in the Tower,
And goods and body given to Gaveston.

Lan. What! will they tyrannize upon the church?
Ah, wicked king! accursed Gaveston!
This ground, which is corrupted with their steps,
Shall be their timeless sepulchre or mine.

Y. Mor. Well, let that peevish Frenchman guard him sure;
Unless his breast be sword-proof, he shall die.

E. Mor. How now, why droops the Earl of Lancaster?

Y. Mor. Wherefore is Guy of Warwick discontent?

Lan. That villain Gaveston is made an earl.

E. Mor. An earl!

War. Ay, and besides Lord-chamberlain of the realm,
And Secretary too, and Lord of Man.

E. Mor. We may not, nor we will not suffer this.

Y. Mor. Why post we not from hence to levy men?

Lan. 'My Lord of Cornwall,' now at every word;
And happy is the man whom he vouchsafes,
For vailing of his bonnet, one good look.
Thus, arm in arm, the king and he doth march:
Nay more, the guard upon his lordship waits,
And all the court begins to flatter him.

War. Thus leaning on the shoulder of the king,
He nods, and scorns, and smiles at those that pass.

E. Mor. Doth no man take exceptions at the slave?

Lan. All stomach him, but none dare speak a word.

Y. Mor. Ah, that bewrays their baseness, Lancaster.
Were all the earls and barons of my mind,
We'd hale him from the bosom of the king,
And at the court-gate hang the peasant up;

Who, swoln with venom of ambitious pride,
Will be the ruin of the realm and us.

War. Here comes my lord of Canterbury's grace.

Lan. His countenance bewrays he is displeas'd.

Enter the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY *and an* Attendant.

Archb. of Cant. First were his sacred garments rent and torn,
Then laid they violent hands upon him; next
Himself imprison'd, and his goods asseiz'd:
This certify the Pope;—away, take horse. [*Exit* Attendant.

Lan. My lord, will you take arms against the king?

Archb. of Cant. What need I? God himself is up in arms,
When violence is offer'd to the church.

Y. Mor. Then will you join with us, that be his peers,
To banish or behead that Gaveston?

Archb. of Cant. What else, my lords? for it concerns me near;—
The bishoprick of Coventry is his.

Enter QUEEN ISABELLA.

Y. Mor. Madam, whither walks your majesty so fast?

Q. Isab. Unto the forest, gentle Mortimer,
To live in grief and baleful discontent;
For now my lord the king regards me not,
But dotes upon the love of Gaveston:
He claps his cheek, and hangs about his neck,
Smiles in his face, and whispers in his ears;
And when I come he frowns, as who should say,
'Go whither thou wilt, seeing I have Gaveston.'

E. Mor. Is it not strange, that he is thus bewitch'd?

Y. Mor. Madam, return unto the court again:
That sly inveigling Frenchman we 'll exile,
Or lose our lives; and yet ere that day come
The king shall lose his crown; for we have power,
And courage too, to be reveng'd at full.

Archb. of Cant. But yet lift not your swords against the king.

Lan. No; but we will lift Gaveston from hence.

War. And war must be the means, or he 'll stay still.

Q. Isab. Then let him stay; for rather than my lord
Shall be oppress'd with civil mutinies,
I will endure a melancholy life,
And let him frolic with his minion.

Archb. of Cant. My lords, to ease all this, but hear me speak:
We and the rest, that are his counsellors,
Will meet, and with a general consent
Confirm his banishment with our hands and seals.

Lan. What we confirm the king will frustrate.

Y. Mor. Then may we lawfully revolt from him.

War. But say, my lord, where shall this meeting be?

Archb. of Cant. At the New Temple.

Y. Mor. Content.

Archb. of Cant. And, in the mean time, I 'll entreat you all
To cross to Lambeth, and there stay with me.

Lan. Come then, let 's away.

Y. Mor. Madam, farewell!

Q. Isab. Farewell, sweet Mortimer; and, for my sake,
Forbear to levy arms against the king.

Y. Mor. Ay, if words will serve; if not, I must.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *London, a street.*

Enter GAVESTON *and* KENT.

Gav. Edmund, the mighty prince of Lancaster,
That hath more earldoms than an ass can bear,

And both the Mortimers, two goodly men,
With Guy of Warwick, that redoubted knight,
Are gone toward Lambeth: there let them remain.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *London, the New Temple.*

Enter LANCASTER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *the elder* MORTIMER, *the younger* MORTIMER, *the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, *and* Attendants.

Lan. Here is the form of Gaveston's exile:
May it please your lordship to subscribe your name.

Archb. of Cant. Give me the paper.
[*He subscribes, as the others do after him.*

Lan. Quick, quick, my lord; I long to write my name.

War. But I long more to see him banish'd hence.

Y. Mor. The name of Mortimer shall fright the king,
Unless he be declin'd from that base peasant.

Enter KING EDWARD, GAVESTON, *and* KENT.

K. Edw. What, are you mov'd that Gaveston sits here?
It is our pleasure; we will have it so.

Lan. Your grace doth well to place him by your side,
For no where else the new earl is so safe.

E. Mor. What man of noble birth can brook this sight?
Quam male conveniunt!—
See what a scornful look the peasant casts!

Pem. Can kingly lions fawn on creeping ants?

War. Ignoble vassal, that like Phaeton
Aspir'st unto the guidance of the sun.

Y. Mor. Their downfall is at hand, their forces down:
We will not thus be fac'd and over-peer'd.

K. Edw. Lay hands on that traitor Mortimer!

E. Mor. Lay hands on that traitor Gaveston!

Kent. Is this the duty that you owe your king?

War. We know our duties: let him know his peers.

K. Edw. Whither will you bear him? stay, or ye shall die.

E. Mor. We are no traitors; therefore threaten not.

Gav. No, threaten not, my lord, but pay them home. Were I a king——

Y. Mor. Thou villain, wherefore talk'st thou of a king, Thou hardly art a gentleman by birth?

K. Edw. Were he a peasant, being my minion, I 'll make the proudest of you stoop to him.

Lan. My lord, you may not thus disparage us.— Away, I say, with hateful Gaveston.

E. Mort. And with the Earl of Kent that favours him.

[Attendants *remove* GAVESTON *and* KENT.

K. Edw. Nay, then, lay violent hands upon your king; Here, Mortimer, sit thou in Edward's throne; Warwick and Lancaster, wear you my crown. Was ever king thus over-rul'd as I?

Lan. Learn then to rule us better, and the realm.

Y. Mor. What we have done our heart-blood shall maintain.

War. Think you that we can brook this upstart pride?

K. Edw. Anger and wrathful fury stops my speech.

Archb. of Cant. Why are you mov'd? be patient, my lord, And see what we your counsellors have done.

Y. Mor. My lords, now let us all be resolute, And either have our wills or lose our lives.

K. Edw. Meet you for this, proud over-daring peers? Ere my sweet Gaveston shall part from me, This isle shall fleet upon the ocean, And wander to the unfrequented Inde.

Archb. of Cant. You know that I am legate to the Pope; On your allegiance to the see of Rome, Subscribe, as we have done, to his exile.

Y. Mor. Curse him, if he refuse; and then may we
Depose him, and elect another king.

K. Edw. Ay, there it goes! but yet I will not yield:
Curse me, depose me, do the worst you can.

Lan. Then linger not, my lord, but do it straight.

Archb. of Cant. Remember how the bishop was abus'd!
Either banish him that was the cause thereof,
Or I will presently discharge these lords
Of duty and allegiance due to thee.

K. Edw. It boots me not to threat; I must speak fair:
[*Aside.*
The legate of the Pope will be obey'd.
My lord, you shall be Chancellor of the realm;
Thou, Lancaster, High-Admiral of our fleet;
Young Mortimer and his uncle shall be earls;
And you, Lord Warwick, President of the North;
And thou of Wales. If this content you not,
Make several kingdoms of this monarchy,
And share it equally amongst you all,
So I may have some nook or corner left,
To frolic with my dearest Gaveston.

Archb. of Cant. Nothing shall alter us;—we are resolv'd.

Lan. Come, come, subscribe.

Y. Mor. Why should you love him whom the world hates so?

K. Edw. Because he loves me more than all the world.
Ah, none but rude and savage-minded men
Would seek the ruin of my Gaveston!
You that be noble-born should pity him.

War. You that are princely-born should shake him off;
For shame subscribe, and let the lown depart.

E. Mor. Urge him, my lord.

Archb. of Cant. Are you content to banish him the realm?

K. Edw. I see I must, and therefore am content:
Instead of ink I'll write it with my tears. [*Subscribes.*

Y. Mor. The king is love-sick for his minion.
K. Edw. 'Tis done: and now, accursed hand, fall off!
Lan. Give it me: I 'll have it publish'd in the streets.
Y. Mor. I 'll see him presently despatch'd away.
Archb. of Cant. Now is my heart at ease.
War. And so is mine.
Pem. This will be good news to the common sort.
E. Mor. Be it or no, he shall not linger here.
[*Exeunt all except* KING EDWARD.

K. Edw. How fast they run to banish him I love!
They would not stir, were it to do me good.
Why should a king be subject to a priest?
Proud Rome, that hatchest such imperial grooms,
For these thy superstitious taper-lights,
Wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze,
I 'll fire thy crazed buildings, and enforce
The papal towers to kiss the lowly ground!
With slaughter'd priests make Tiber's channel swell,
And banks rais'd higher with their sepulchres!
As for the peers, that back the clergy thus,
If I be king, not one of them shall live.

Re-enter GAVESTON.

Gav. My lord, I hear it whisper'd everywhere,
That I am banish'd, and must fly the land.
K. Edw. 'Tis true, sweet Gaveston—O, were it false!
The legate of the Pope will have it so,
And thou must hence, or I shall be depos'd.
But I will reign to be reveng'd of them;
And therefore, sweet friend, take it patiently.
Live where thou wilt, I 'll send thee gold enough;
And long thou shalt not stay; or if thou dost,
I 'll come to thee; my love shall ne'er decline.
Gav. Is all my hope turn'd to this hell of grief?
K. Edw. Rend not my heart with thy too-piercing words:
Thou from this land, I from myself am banish'd.

Gav. To go from hence grieves not poor Gaveston;
But to forsake you, in whose gracious looks
The blessedness of Gaveston remains;
For no where else seeks he felicity.

K. Edw. And only this torments my wretched soul,
That, whether I will or no, thou must depart.
Be governor of Ireland in my stead,
And there abide till fortune call thee home.
Here, take my picture, and let me wear thine;
[*They exchange pictures.*
O, might I keep thee here as I do this,
Happy were I! but now most miserable.

Gav. 'Tis something to be pitied of a king.

K. Edw. Thou shalt not hence—I 'll hide thee, Gaveston.

Gav. I shall be found, and then 'twill grieve me more.

K. Edw. Kind words, and mutual talk makes our grief greater:
Therefore, with dumb embracement, let us part.
Stay, Gaveston; I cannot leave thee thus.

Gav. For every look, my lord, drops down a tear:
Seeing I must go, do not renew my sorrow.

K. Edw. The time is little that thou hast to stay,
And, therefore, give me leave to look my fill.
But come, sweet friend; I 'll bear thee on thy way.

Gav. The peers will frown.

K. Edw. I pass not for their anger—Come, let 's go;
O that we might as well return as go!

Enter QUEEN ISABELLA.

Q. Isab. Whither goes my lord?

K. Edw. Fawn not on me, French strumpet! get thee gone.

Q. Isab. On whom but on my husband should I fawn?

Gav. On Mortimer; with whom, ungentle queen,—
I say no more—judge you the rest, my lord.

Q. Isab. In saying this, thou wrong'st me, Gaveston;

Is 't not enough that thou corrupt'st my lord,
And art a bawd to his affections,
But thou must call mine honour thus in question?

Gav. I mean not so; your grace must pardon me.

K. Edw. Thou art too familiar with that Mortimer,
And by thy means is Gaveston exil'd;
But I would wish thee reconcile the lords,
Or thou shalt ne'er be reconcil'd to me.

Q. Isab. Your highness knows it lies not in my power.

K. Edw. Away then! touch me not.—Come Gaveston.

Q. Isab. Villain! 'tis thou that robb'st me of my lord.

Gav. Madam, 'tis you that rob me of my lord.

K. Edw. Speak not unto her; let her droop and pine.

Q. Isab. Wherein, my lord, have I deserv'd these words?
Witness the tears that Isabella sheds,
Witness this heart, that, sighing for thee, breaks,
How dear my lord is to poor Isabel.

K. Edw. And witness heaven how dear thou art to me!
There weep: for, till my Gaveston be repeal'd,
Assure thyself thou com'st not in my sight.

[*Exeunt* KING EDWARD *and* GAVESTON

Q. Isab. O miserable and distressed queen!
Would, when I left sweet France and was embark'd,
That charming Circe, walking on the waves,
Had chang'd my shape, or at the marriage day
The cup of Hymen had been full of poison!
Or with those arms that twin'd about my neck
I had been stifled, and not liv'd to see
The king my lord thus to abandon me!
Like frantic Juno will I fill the earth
With ghastly murmur of my sighs and cries;
For never doted Jove on Ganymede
So much as he on cursed Gaveston:
But that will more exasperate his wrath;
I must entreat him, I must speak him fair,
And be a means to call home Gaveston:

And yet he 'll ever dote on Gaveston:
And so am I for ever miserable.

Re-enter LANCASTER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *the elder* MORTIMER, *and the younger* MORTIMER.

Lan. Look where the sister of the King of France
Sits wringing of her hands, and beats her breast!

War. The king, I fear, hath ill-entreated her.

Pem. Hard is the heart that injures such a saint.

Y. Mor. I know 'tis 'long of Gaveston she weeps.

E. Mor. Why, he is gone.

Y. Mor. Madam, how fares your grace?

Q. Isab. Ah, Mortimer! now breaks the king's hate forth,
And he confesseth that he loves me not.

Y. Mor. Cry quittance, madam, then, and love not him.

Q. Isab. No, rather will I die a thousand deaths:
And yet I love in vain; he 'll ne'er love me.

Lan. Fear ye not, madam; now his minion 's gone,
His wanton humour will be quickly left.

Q. Isab. O never, Lancaster! I am enjoin'd
To sue unto you all for his repeal;
This wills my lord, and this must I perform,
Or else be banish'd from his highness' presence.

Lan. For his repeal, madam! he comes not back,
Unless the sea cast up his shipwreck'd body.

War. And to behold so sweet a sight as that,
There 's none here but would run his horse to death.

Y. Mor. But, madam, would you have us call him home?

Q. Isab. Ay, Mortimer, for till he be restor'd,
The angry king hath banish'd me the court;
And therefore, as thou lov'st and tender'st me,
Be thou my advocate unto these peers.

Y. Mor. What! would you have me plead for Gaveston?

E. Mor. Plead for him that will, I am resolv'd.

Lan. And so am I, my lord; dissuade the queen.

Q. Isab. O Lancaster! let him dissuade the king!
For 'tis against my will he should return.

War. Then speak not for him; let the peasant go.

Q. Isab. 'Tis for myself I speak, and not for him.

Pem. No speaking will prevail, and therefore cease.

Y. Mor. Fair queen, forbear to angle for the fish,
Which, being caught, strikes him that takes it dead;
I mean that vile torpedo, Gaveston,
That now I hope floats on the Irish seas.

Q. Isab. Sweet Mortimer, sit down by me a while,
And I will tell thee reasons of such weight,
As thou wilt soon subscribe to his repeal.

Y. Mor. It is impossible; but speak your mind.

Q. Isab. Then thus;—but none shall hear it but ourselves
[*Talks to* Y. MORTIMER *apart.*

Lan. My lords, albeit the queen win Mortimer,
Will you be resolute, and hold with me?

E. Mor. Not I, against my nephew.

Pem. Fear not, the queen's words cannot alter him.

War. No? do but mark how earnestly she pleads!

Lan. And see how coldly his looks make denial!

War. She smiles, now for my life his mind is chang'd!

Lan. I'll rather lose his friendship, I, than grant.

Y. Mor. Well, of necessity it must be so.—
My lords, that I abhor base Gaveston
I hope your honours make no question,
And therefore, though I plead for his repeal,
'Tis not for his sake, but for our avail:
Nay, for the realm's behoof, and for the king's.

Lan. Fie, Mortimer, dishonour not thyself!
Can this be true, 'twas good to banish him?
And is this true, to call him home again?
Such reasons make white black, and dark night day.

Y. Mor. My lord of Lancaster, mark the respect.

Lan. In no respect can contraries be true.

Q. Isab. Yet, good my lord, hear what he can allege.

War. All that he speaks is nothing; we are resolv'd.

Y. Mor. Do you not wish that Gaveston were dead?

Pem. I would he were.

Y. Mor. Why then, my lord, give me but leave to speak.

E. Mor. But, nephew, do not play the sophister.

Y. Mor. This which I urge is of a burning zeal
To mend the king, and do our country good.
Know you not Gaveston hath store of gold,
Which may in Ireland purchase him such friends,
As he will front the mightiest of us all?
And whereas he shall live and be belov'd,
'Tis hard for us to work his overthrow.

War. Mark you but that, my lord of Lancaster.

Y. Mor. But were he here, detested as he is,
How easily might some base slave be suborn'd
To greet his lordship with a poniard,
And none so much as blame the murderer,
But rather praise him for that brave attempt,
And in the Chronicle enrol his name
For purging of the realm of such a plague?

Pem. He saith true.

Lan. Ay, but how chance this was not done before?

Y. Mor. Because, my lords, it was not thought upon.
Nay, more, when he shall know it lies in us
To banish him, and then to call him home,
'Twill make him vail the top-flag of his pride,
And fear to offend the meanest nobleman.

E. Mor. But how if he do not, nephew?

Y. Mor. Then may we with some colour rise in arms;
For, howsoever we have borne it out,
'Tis treason to be up against the king;
So shall we have the people of our side,
Which for his father's sake lean to the king,
But cannot brook a night-grown mushroom,
Such a one as my lord of Cornwall is,

Should bear us down of the nobility.
And when the commons and the nobles join,
'Tis not the king can buckler Gaveston;
We'll pull him from the strongest hold he hath.
My lords, if to perform this I be slack,
Think me as base a groom as Gaveston.

Lan. On that condition, Lancaster will grant.

War. And so will Pembroke and I.

E. Mor. And I.

Y. Mor. In this I count me highly gratified,
And Mortimer will rest at your command.

Q. Isab. And when this favour Isabel forgets,
Then let her live abandon'd and forlorn.
But see, in happy time, my lord the king,
Having brought the Earl of Cornwall on his way,
Is new returned. This news will glad him much;
Yet not so much as me; I love him more
Than he can Gaveston; would he lov'd me
But half so much! then were I treble-blest.

Re-enter KING EDWARD, *mourning.*

K. Edw. He's gone, and for his absence thus I mourn:
Did never sorrow go so near my heart,
As doth the want of my sweet Gaveston!
And could my crown's revenue bring him back,
I would freely give it to his enemies,
And think I gain'd, having bought so dear a friend.

Q. Isab. Hark! how he harps upon his minion!

K. Edw. My heart is as an anvil unto sorrow,
Which beats upon it like the Cyclops' hammers,
And with the noise turns up my giddy brain,
And makes me frantic for my Gaveston.
Ah, had some bloodless Fury rose from hell,
And with my kingly sceptre struck me dead,
When I was forc'd to leave my Gaveston!

Lan. *Diablo*, what passions call you these?

Q. Isab. My gracious lord, I come to bring you news.

K. Edw. That you have parled with your Mortimer?

Q. Isab. That Gaveston, my lord, shall be repeal'd.

K. Edw. Repeal'd! the news is too sweet to be true.

Q. Isab. But will you love me, if you find it so?

K. Edw. If it be so, what will not Edward do?

Q. Isab. For Gaveston, but not for Isabel.

K. Edw. For thee, fair queen, if thou lov'st Gaveston,
I 'll hang a golden tongue about thy neck,
Seeing thou hast pleaded with so good success.

Q. Isab. No other jewels hang about my neck
Than these, my lord; nor let me have more wealth
Than I may fetch from this rich treasury.
O how a kiss revives poor Isabel!

K. Edw. Once more receive my hand; and let this be
A second marriage 'twixt thyself and me.

Q. Isab. And may it prove more happy than the first!
My gentle lord, bespeak these nobles fair,
That wait attendance for a gracious look,
And on their knees salute your majesty.

K. Edw. Courageous Lancaster, embrace thy king;
And, as gross vapours perish by the sun,
Even so let hatred with thy sovereign's smile.
Live thou with me as my companion.

Lan. This salutation overjoys my heart.

K. Edw. Warwick shall be my chiefest counsellor:
These silver hairs will more adorn my court
Than gaudy silks, or rich embroidery.
Chide me, sweet Warwick, if I go astray.

War. Slay me, my lord, when I offend your grace.

K. Edw. In solemn triumphs, and in public shows,
Pembroke shall bear the sword before the king.

Pem. And with this sword Pembroke will fight for you.

K. Edw. But wherefore walks young Mortimer aside?
Be thou commander of our royal fleet;
Or if that lofty office like thee not,
I make thee here Lord Marshal of the realm.

Y. Mor. My lord, I 'll marshal so your enemies,
As England shall be quiet, and you safe.

K. Edw. And as for you, Lord Mortimer of Chirke,
Whose great achievements in our foreign war
Deserves no common place, nor mean reward,
Be you the general of the levied troops,
That now are ready to assail the Scots.

E. Mor. In this your grace hath highly honour'd me,
For with my nature war doth best agree.

Queen. Now is the King of England rich and strong,
Having the love of his renowned peers.

K. Edw. Ay, Isabel, ne'er was my heart so light.
Clerk of the crown, direct our warrant forth,
For Gaveston, to Ireland!

Enter BEAUMONT *with warrant.*

Beaumont, fly
As fast as Iris or Jove's Mercury.

Beau. It shall be done, my gracious Lord. [*Exit.*

K. Edw. Lord Mortimer, we leave you to your charge.
Now let us in, and feast it royally.
Against our friend the Earl of Cornwall comes,
We 'll have a general tilt and tournament;
And then his marriage shall be solemniz'd.
For wot you not that I have made him sure
Unto our cousin, the Earl of Glocester's heir?

Lan. Such news we hear, my lord.

K. Edw. That day, if not for him, yet for my sake,
Who in the triumph will be challenger,
Spare for no cost; we will requite your love.

War. In this or aught your highness shall command us.

K. Edw. Thanks, gentle Warwick: come let 's in and revel.

[*Exeunt all except the elder* MORTIMER *and the younger* MORTIMER.

E. Mor. Nephew, I must to Scotland; thou stay'st here.
Leave now to oppose thyself against the king.

Thou seest by nature he is mild and calm;
And, seeing his mind so dotes on Gaveston,
Let him without controlment have his will.
The mightiest kings have had their minions:
Great Alexander lov'd Hephæstion,
The conquering Hercules for Hylas wept,
And for Patroclus stern Achilles droop'd:
And not kings only, but the wisest men;
The Roman Tully lov'd Octavius,
Grave Socrates wild Alcibiades.
Then let his grace, whose youth is flexible,
And promiseth as much as we can wish,
Freely enjoy that vain light-headed earl;
For riper years will wean him from such toys.

Y. Mor. Uncle, his wanton humour grieves not me;
But this I scorn, that one so basely born
Should by his sovereign's favour grow so pert,
And riot it with the treasure of the realm,
While soldiers mutiny for want of pay.
He wears a lord's revenue on his back,
And, Midas-like, he jets it in the court,
With base outlandish cullions at his heels,
Whose proud fantastic liveries make such show
As if that Proteus, god of shapes, appear'd.
I have not seen a dapper Jack so brisk;
He wears a short Italian hooded cloak,
Larded with pearl, and in his Tuscan cap
A jewel of more value than the crown.
While others walk below, the king and he,
From out a window, laugh at such as we,
And flout our train, and jest at our attire.
Uncle, 'tis this that makes me impatient.

E. Mor. But, nephew, now you see the king is chang'd.

Y. Mor. Then so am I, and live to do him service:
But whiles I have a sword, a hand, a heart,
I will not yield to any such upstart.
You know my mind: come, uncle, let 's away. [*Exeunt.*

ACT II.

SCENE I. *A Hall in the Earl of Glocester's Castle.*

Enter the younger SPENSER *and* BALDOCK.

Bald. Spenser,
Seeing that our lord the Earl of Glocester's dead,
Which of the nobles dost thou mean to serve?

Y. Spen. Not Mortimer, nor any of his side,
Because the king and he are enemies.
Baldock, learn this of me: a factious lord
Shall hardly do himself good, much less us;
But he that hath the favour of a king
May with one word advance us while we live.
The liberal Earl of Cornwall is the man
On whose good fortune Spenser's hope depends.

Bald. What, mean you, then, to be his follower?

Y. Spen. No, his companion; for he loves me well,
And would have once preferr'd me to the king.

Bald. But he is banish'd; there 's small hope of him.

Y. Spen. Ay, for a while; but, Baldock, mark the end.
A friend of mine told me in secrecy
That he 's repeal'd, and sent for back again;
And even now a post came from the court
With letters to our lady from the king;
And as she read she smil'd; which makes me think
It is about her lover Gaveston.

Bald. 'Tis like enough; for since he was exil'd
She neither walks abroad, nor comes in sight.
But I had thought the match had been broke off,
And that his banishment had chang'd her mind.

Y. Spen. Our lady's first love is not wavering;
My life for thine she will have Gaveston.

Bald. Then hope I by her means to be preferr'd,
Having read unto her since she was a child.

Y. Spen. Then, Baldock, you must cast the scholar off,
And learn to court it like a gentleman.
'Tis not a black coat and a little band,
A velvet cap'd cloak, fac'd before with serge,
And smelling to a nosegay all the day,
Or holding of a napkin in your hand,
Or saying a long grace at a table's end,
Or making low legs to a nobleman,
Or looking downward with your eyelids close,
And saying, 'Truly, an 't may please your honour,'
Can get you any favour with great men:
You must be proud, bold, pleasant, resolute,
And now and then stab, as occasion serves.

Bald. Spenser, thou know'st I hate such formal toys,
And use them but of mere hypocrisy.
Mine old lord whiles he liv'd was so precise,
That he would take exceptions at my buttons,
And, being like pins' heads, blame me for the bigness;
Which made me curate-like in mine attire,
Though inwardly licentious enough,
And apt for any kind of villany.
I am none of these common pedants, I,
That cannot speak without *propterea quod.*

Y. Spen. But one of those that saith, *quandoquidem,*
And hath a special gift to form a verb.

Bald. Leave off this jesting; here my lady comes.

Enter KING EDWARD'S Niece.

Niece. The grief for his exile was not so much
As is the joy of his returning home.
This letter came from my sweet Gaveston:
What need'st thou, love, thus to excuse thyself?
I know thou couldst not come and visit me:
I will not long be from thee, though I die;— [*Reads.*
This argues the entire love of my lord;—
When I forsake thee, death seize on my heart!— [*Reads.*

But stay thee here where Gaveston shall sleep.
[*Puts the letter into her bosom.*
Now to the letter of my lord the king.—
He wills me to repair unto the court,
And meet my Gaveston: why do I stay,
Seeing that he talks thus of my marriage-day?—
Who's there? Baldock!
See that my coach be ready, I must hence.

Bald. It shall be done, madam. [*Exit* BALDOCK.

Niece. And meet me at the park-pale presently.
Spenser, stay you and bear me company,
For I have joyful news to tell thee of;
My lord of Cornwall is a-coming over,
And will be at the court as soon as we.

Spen. I knew the king would have him home again.

Niece. If all things sort out, as I hope they will,
Thy service, Spenser, shall be thought upon.

Spen. I humbly thank your ladyship.

Niece. Come, lead the way; I long till I am there.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *Tynmouth Castle.*

Enter KING EDWARD, QUEEN ISABELLA, KENT, LANCASTER, *the younger* MORTIMER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *and* Attendants.

K. Edw. The wind is good, I wonder why he stays;
I fear me he is wreck'd upon the sea.

Q. Isab. Look, Lancaster, how passionate he is,
And still his mind runs on his minion!

Lan. My lord,——

K. Edw. How now! what news? is Gaveston arrived?

Y. Mor. Nothing but Gaveston! what means your grace?
You have matters of more weight to think upon;
The King of France sets foot in Normandy.

K. Edw. A trifle! we'll expel him when we please.
But tell me, Mortimer, what's thy device
Against the stately triumph we decreed?

Y. Mor. A homely one, my lord; not worth the telling.

K. Edw. Pray thee, let me know it.

Y. Mor. But, seeing you're so desirous, thus it is:
A lofty cedar-tree, fair flourishing,
On whose top-branches kingly eagles perch,
And by the bark a canker creeps me up,
And gets into the highest bough of all;
The motto, *Æque tandem.*

K. Edw. And what is yours, my lord of Lancaster?

Lan. My lord, mine's more obscure than Mortimer's.
Pliny reports there is a flying-fish
Which all the other fishes deadly hate,
And therefore, being pursu'd, it takes the air:
No sooner is it up, but there's a fowl
That seizeth it: this fish, my lord, I bear;
The motto this: *Undique mors est.*

Kent. Proud Mortimer! ungentle Lancaster!
Is this the love you bear your sovereign?
Is this the fruit your reconcilement bears?
Can you in words make show of amity,
And in your shields display your rancorous minds?
What call you this but private libelling
Against the Earl of Cornwall and my brother?

Q. Isab. Sweet husband, be content, they all love you.

Edw. They love me not that hate my Gaveston.
I am that cedar; shake me not too much;
And you the eagles; soar ye ne'er so high,
I have the jesses that will pull you down;
And *Æque tandem* shall that canker cry
Unto the proudest peer of Britainy.
Though thou compar'st him to a flying-fish,
And threat'nest death whether he rise or fall,
'Tis not the hugest monster of the sea,
Nor foulest harpy, that shall swallow him.

Y. Mor. If in his absence thus he favours him,
What will he do whenas he shall be present?

Lan. That shall we see; look where his lordship comes!

Enter GAVESTON.

K. Edw. My Gaveston!
Welcome to Tynmouth! welcome to thy friend!
Thy absence made me droop and pine away;
For, as the lovers of fair Danae,
When she was lock'd up in a brazen tower,
Desir'd her more, and wax'd outrageous,
So did it fare with me: and now thy sight
Is sweeter far than was thy parting hence
Bitter and irksome to my sobbing heart.

Gav. Sweet lord and king, your speech preventeth mine;
Yet have I words left to express my joy:
The shepherd, nipt with biting winter's rage,
Frolics not more to see the painted spring,
Than I do to behold your majesty.

K. Edw. Will none of you salute my Gaveston?

Lan. Salute him! yes.—Welcome, Lord Chamberlain!

Y. Mor. Welcome is the good Earl of Cornwall!

War. Welcome, Lord Governor of the Isle of Man!

Pem. Welcome, Master Secretary!

Kent. Brother, do you hear them?

K. Edw. Still will these earls and barons use me thus.

Gav. My lord, I cannot brook these injuries.

Q. Isab. Ay me, poor soul, when these begin to jar!
[*Aside.*

K. Edw. Return it to their throats; I'll be thy warrant.

Gav. Base, leaden earls, that glory in your birth,
Go sit at home and eat your tenants' beef;
And come not here to scoff at Gaveston,
Whose mounting thoughts did never creep so low
As to bestow a look on such as you.

Lan. Yet I disdain not to do this for you.
[*Draws his sword, and offers to stab* GAVESTON.
K. Edw. Treason! treason! where 's the traitor?
Pem. Here! here!
K. Edw. Convey hence Gaveston; they 'll murder him.
Gav. The life of thee shall salve this foul disgrace.
Y. Mor. Villain! thy life, unless I miss mine aim.
[*Wounds* GAVESTON.
Q. Isab. Ah! furious Mortimer, what hast thou done?
Y. Mor. No more than I would answer, were he slain.
[*Exit* GAVESTON, *with* Attendants.
K. Edw. Yes, more than thou canst answer, though he live;
Dear shall you both abide this riotous deed.
Out of my presence, come not near the court!
Y. Mor. I 'll not be barr'd the court for Gaveston.
Lan. We 'll hale him by the ears unto the block.
K. Edw. Look to your own heads; his is sure enough.
War. Look to your own crown, if you back him thus.
Kent. Warwick, these words do ill beseem thy years.
K. Edw. Nay, all of them conspire to cross me thus;
But if I live, I 'll tread upon their heads
That think with high looks thus to tread me down.
Come, Edmund, let 's away and levy men,
'Tis war that must abate these barons' pride.
[*Exeunt* KING EDWARD, QUEEN ISABELLA, *and* KENT.
War. Let 's to our castles, for the king is mov'd.
Y. Mor. Mov'd may he be, and perish in his wrath!
Lan. Cousin, it is no dealing with him now;
He means to make us stoop by force of arms;
And therefore let us jointly here protest,
To prosecute that Gaveston to the death.
Y. Mor. By heaven, the abject villain shall not live!
War. I 'll have his blood, or die in seeking it.
Pem. The like oath Pembroke takes.

Lan. And so doth Lancaster.
Now send our heralds to defy the king;
And make the people swear to put him down.

Enter a Messenger.

Y. Mor. Letters! from whence?
Mes. From Scotland, my lord.
[*Giving letters to* MORTIMER.
Lan. Why, how now, cousin, how fares all our friends?
Y. Mor. My uncle's taken prisoner by the Scots.
Lan. We'll have him ransom'd, man; be of good cheer.
Y. Mor. They rate his ransom at five thousand pound.
Who should defray the money but the king,
Seeing he is taken prisoner in his wars?
I'll to the king.
Lan. Do, cousin, and I'll bear thee company.
War. Meantime, my lord of Pembroke and myself
Will to Newcastle here, and gather head.
Y. Mor. About it then, and we will follow you.
Lan. Be resolute and full of secrecy.
War. I warrant you. [*Exit with* PEMBROKE.
Y. Mor. Cousin, and if he will not ransom him,
I'll thunder such a peal into his ears,
As never subject did unto his king.
Lan. Content, I'll bear my part.—Holla! who's there?

Enter Guard.

Y. Mor. Ay, marry, such a guard as this doth well.
Lan. Lead on the way.
Guard. Whither will your lordships?
Y. Mor. Whither else but to the king.
Guard. His highness is dispos'd to be alone.
Lan. Why, so he may; but we will speak to him.
Guard. You may not in, my lord.
Y. Mor. May we not?

Enter KING EDWARD *and* KENT.

K. Edw. How now!
What noise is this? Who have we there? is 't you?
[*Going.*

Y. Mor. Nay, stay, my lord; I come to bring you news;
Mine uncle 's taken prisoner by the Scots.

K. Edw. Then ransom him.

Lan. It was in your wars; you should ransom him.

Y. Mor. And you shall ransom him, or else——

Kent. What! Mortimer, you will not threaten him?

K. Edw. Quiet yourself, you shall have the broad seal,
To gather for him throughout the realm.

Lan. Your minion Gaveston hath taught you this.

Y. Mor. My lord, the family of the Mortimers
Are not so poor, but, would they sell their land,
'Twould levy men enough to anger you.
We never beg, but use such prayers as these.

K. Edw. Shall I still be haunted thus?

Y. Mor. Nay, now you are here alone, I 'll speak my mind.

Lan. And so will I; and then, my lord, farewell.

Y. Mor. The idle triumphs, masques, lascivious shows,
And prodigal gifts bestow'd on Gaveston,
Have drawn thy treasury dry, and made thee weak;
The murmuring commons, overstretchèd, break.

Lan. Look for rebellion, look to be depos'd;
Thy garrisons are beaten out of France,
And, lame and poor, lie groaning at the gates.
The wild Oneil, with swarms of Irish kerns,
Lives uncontroll'd within the English pale.
Unto the walls of York the Scots make road,
And, unresisted, drive away rich spoils.

Y. Mor. The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas,
While in the harbour ride thy ships unrigg'd.

Lan. What foreign prince sends thee ambassadors?

K. Edw. Would Lancaster and he had both carous'd
A bowl of poison to each other's health!
But let them go, and tell me what are these.

Niece. Two of my father's servants whilst he liv'd,—
May't please your grace to entertain them now.

K. Edw. Tell me, where wast thou born? What is thine arms?

Bald. My name is Baldock, and my gentry
I fetch from Oxford, not from heraldry.

K. Edw. The fitter art thou, Baldock, for my turn.
Wait on me, and I'll see thou shalt not want.

Bald. I humbly thank your majesty.

K. Edw. Knowest thou him, Gaveston?

Gav. Ay, my lord;
His name is Spenser; he is well allied;
For my sake, let him wait upon your grace;
Scarce shall you find a man of more desert.

K. Edw. Then, Spenser, wait upon me, for his sake:
I'll grace thee with a higher style ere long.

Y. Spen. No greater titles happen unto me,
Than to be favour'd of your majesty!

K. Edw. Cousin, this day shall be your marriage feast:—
And, Gaveston, think that I love thee well,
To wed thee to our niece, the only heir
Unto the Earl of Glocester late deceas'd.

Gav. I know, my lord, many will stomach me;
But I respect neither their love nor hate.

K. Edw. The headstrong barons shall not limit me;
He that I list to favour shall be great.
Come, let's away; and when the marriage ends,
Have at the rebels and their complices! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *The Barons' Camp before Tynmouth Castle.*

Enter KENT, LANCASTER, *the younger* MORTIMER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *and others.*

Kent. My lords, of love to this our native land,
I come to join with you and leave the king;
And in your quarrel, and the realm's behoof,
Will be the first that shall adventure life.

Lan. I fear me, you are sent of policy,
To undermine us with a show of love.

War. He is your brother; therefore have we cause
To cast the worst, and doubt of your revolt.

Kent. Mine honour shall be hostage of my truth:
If that will not suffice, farewell, my lords.

Y. Mor. Stay, Edmund; never was Plantagenet
False of his word, and therefore trust we thee.

Pem. But what's the reason you should leave him now?

Kent. I have inform'd the Earl of Lancaster.

Lan. And it sufficeth. Now, my lords, know this,
That Gaveston is secretly arriv'd,
And here in Tynmouth frolics with the king.
Let us with these our followers scale the walls,
And suddenly surprise them unawares.

Y. Mor. I'll give the onset.

War. And I'll follow thee.

Y. Mor. This totter'd ensign of my ancestors,
Which swept the desert shore of that Dead Sea,
Whereof we got the name of Mortimer,
Will I advance upon this castle's walls.—
Drums, strike alarum, raise them from their sport,
And ring aloud the knell of Gaveston!

Lan. None be so hardy as to touch the king;
But neither spare you Gaveston nor his friends. [*Exeunt.*

Scene IV. *Within Tynmouth Castle.*

Enter, severally, King Edward *and the younger* Spenser

K. Edw. O tell me, Spenser, where is Gaveston?

Spen. I fear me he is slain, my gracious lord.

K. Edw. No, here he comes; now let them spoil and kill.

Enter Queen Isabella, King Edward's Niece, Gaveston, *and* Nobles.

Fly, fly, my lords; the earls have got the hold;
Take shipping and away to Scarborough;
Spenser and I will post away by land.

Gav. O stay, my lord! they will not injure you.

K. Edw. I will not trust them. Gaveston, away!

Gav. Farewell, my lord.

K. Edw. Lady, farewell.

Niece. Farewell, sweet uncle, till we meet again.

K. Edw. Farewell, sweet Gaveston; and farewell, niece.

Q. Isab. No farewell to poor Isabel thy queen?

K. Edw. Yes, yes, for Mortimer, your lover's sake.

[*Exeunt all except* Queen Isabella.

Q. Isab. Heavens can witness, I love none but you.
From my embracements thus he breaks away.
O that mine arms could close this isle about,
That I might pull him to me where I would!
Or that these tears, that drizzle from mine eyes,
Had power to mollify his stony heart,
That when I had him we might never part!

Enter Lancaster, Warwick, *the younger* Mortimer, *and others. Alarums within.*

Lan. I wonder how he scap'd!

Y. Mor. Who's this? the queen!

Q. Isab. Ay, Mortimer, the miserable queen,

Whose pining heart her inward sighs have blasted,
And body with continual mourning wasted:
These hands are tir'd with haling of my lord
From Gaveston, from wicked Gaveston;
And all in vain; for, when I speak him fair,
He turns away, and smiles upon his minion.

Y. Mor. Cease to lament, and tell us where 's the king?

Q. Isab. What would you with the king? is 't him you seek?

Lan. No, madam, but that cursèd Gaveston.
Far be it from the thought of Lancaster
To offer violence to his sovereign!
We would but rid the realm of Gaveston:
Tell us where he remains, and he shall die.

Q. Isab. He 's gone by water unto Scarborough;
Pursue him quickly, and he cannot scape;
The king hath left him, and his train is small.

War. Forslow no time, sweet Lancaster; let 's march.

Y. Mor. How comes it that the king and he is parted?

Q. Isab. That thus your army, going several ways,
Might be of lesser force, and with the power
That he intendeth presently to raise,
Be easily suppress'd; therefore be gone.

Y. Mor. Here in the river rides a Flemish hoy;
Let 's all aboard, and follow him amain.

Lan. The wind that bears him hence will fill our sails:
Come, come aboard, 'tis but an hour's sailing.

Y. Mor. Madam, stay you within this castle here.

Q. Isab. No, Mortimer; I 'll to my lord the king.

Y. Mor. Nay, rather sail with us to Scarborough.

Q. Isab. You know the king is so suspicious
As if he hear I have but talk'd with you,
Mine honour will be call'd in question;
And therefore, gentle Mortimer, be gone.

Y. Mor. Madam, I cannot stay to answer you;
But think of Mortimer as he deserves.
[*Exeunt all except* QUEEN ISABELLA.

Q. Isab. So well hast thou deserved, sweet Mortimer,
As Isabel could live with thee for ever.
In vain I look for love at Edward's hand,
Whose eyes are fix'd on none but Gaveston.
Yet once more I 'll importune him with prayer;
If he be strange and not regard my words,
My son and I will over into France,
And to the king my brother there complain,
How Gaveston hath robb'd me of his love:
But yet I hope my sorrows will have end,
And Gaveston this blessèd day be slain. [*Exit.*

SCENE V. *Country near Scarborough Castle*

Enter GAVESTON, *pursued.*

Gav. Yet, lusty lords, I have escap'd your hands,
Your threats, your 'larums, and your hot pursuits;
And though divorcèd from King Edward's eyes,
Yet liveth Pierce of Gaveston unsurpris'd,
Breathing, in hope (malgrado all your beards,
That muster rebels thus against your king)
To see his royal sovereign once again.

Enter WARWICK, LANCASTER, PEMBROKE, *the younger* MORTIMER, Soldiers, JAMES *and other* Attendants *of* PEMBROKE.

War. Upon him, soldiers! take away his weapons!

Y. Mor. Thou proud disturber of thy country's peace,
Corrupter of thy king, cause of these broils,
Base flatterer, yield! and, were it not for shame,
Shame and dishonour to a soldier's name,
Upon my weapon's point here should'st thou fall,
And welter in thy gore.

Lan. Monster of men,
That, like the Greekish strumpet, train'd to arms
And bloody wars so many valiant knights,
Look for no other fortune, wretch, than death!
King Edward is not here to buckler thee.

War. Lancaster, why talk'st thou to the slave?—
Go, soldiers, take him hence; for by my sword
His head shall off.—Gaveston, short warning
Shall serve thy turn: it is our country's cause,
That here severely we will execute
Upon thy person. Hang him at a bough.

Gav. My lord,—

War. Soldiers, have him away.—
But for thou wert the favourite of a king,
Thou shalt have so much honour at our hands.

Gav. I thank you all, my lords: then I perceive
That heading is one, and hanging is the other,
And death is all.

Enter ARUNDEL.

Lan. How now, my lord of Arundel?

Arun. My lords, King Edward greets you all by me.

War. Arundel, say your message.

Arun. His majesty, hearing that you had taken Gaveston,
Entreateth you by me, yet but he may
See him before he dies; for why, he says,
And sends you word, he knows that die he shall;
And if you gratify his grace so far,
He will be mindful of the courtesy.

War. How now?

Gav. Renowmèd Edward, how thy name
Revives poor Gaveston!

War. No, it needeth not;
Arundel, we will gratify the king
In other matters; he must pardon us in this.—
Soldiers, away with him!

Gav. Why, my lord of Warwick,
Will not these delays beget my hopes?
I know it, lords, it is this life you aim at;
Yet grant King Edward this.

Y. Mor. Shalt thou appoint
What we shall grant?—Soldiers, away with him!
Thus we 'll gratify the king; [*To* ARUNDEL.
We 'll send his head by thee; let him bestow
His tears on that, for that is all he gets
Of Gaveston, or else his senseless trunk.

Lan. Not so, my lords, lest he bestow more cost
In burying him, than he hath ever earn'd.

Arun. My lords, it is his majesty's request,
And in the honour of a king he swears,
He will but talk with him, and send him back.

War. When? can you tell? Arundel, no; we wot,
He that the care of his realm remits,
And drives his nobles to these exigents
For Gaveston, will, if he sees him once,
Violate any promise to possess him.

Arun. Then if you will not trust his grace in keep,
My lords, I will be pledge for his return.

Y. Mor. 'Tis honourable in thee to offer this;
But for we know thou art a noble gentleman,
We will not wrong thee so,
To make away a true man for a thief.

Gav. How mean'st thou, Mortimer? that is over-base.

Y. Mor. Away, base groom, robber of king's renown!
Question with thy companions and mates.

Pem. My Lord Mortimer, and you, my lords, each one,
To gratify the king's request therein,
Touching the sending of this Gaveston,
Because his majesty so earnestly
Desires to see the man before his death,
I will upon mine honour undertake
To carry him, and bring him back again;

Provided this, that you, my lord of Arundel,
Will join with me.

War. Pembroke, what wilt thou do?
Cause yet more bloodshed? is it not enough
That we have taken him, but must we now
Leave him on 'had I wist,' and let him go?

Pem. My lords, I will not over-woo your honours,
But if you dare trust Pembroke with the prisoner,
Upon mine oath, I will return him back.

Arun. My lord of Lancaster, what say you in this?

Lan. Why, I say, let him go on Pembroke's word.

Pem. And you, Lord Mortimer?

Y. Mor. How say you, my lord of Warwick?

War. Nay, do your pleasures, I know how 'twill prove.

Pem. Then give him me.

Gav. Sweet sovereign, yet I come
To see thee ere I die.

War. Yet not perhaps,
If Warwick's wit and policy prevail. [*Aside.*

Y. Mor. My lord of Pembroke, we deliver him you;
Return him on your honour. Sound, away!

[*Exeunt all except* PEMBROKE, ARUNDEL, GAVESTON, JAMES, *and other* Attendants *of* PEMBROKE.

Pem. My lord, you shall go with me.
My house is not far hence; out of the way
A little; but our men shall go along.
We that have pretty wenches to our wives,
Sir, must not come so near to balk their lips.

Arun. 'Tis very kindly spoke, my lord of Pembroke;
Your honour hath an adamant of power
To draw a prince.

Pem. So, my lord.—Come hither, James:
I do commit this Gaveston to thee;
Be thou this night his keeper; in the morning
We will discharge thee of thy charge; be gone.

Gav. Unhappy Gaveston, whither go'st thou now?
[*Exit with* JAMES *and other* Attendants *of* PEMBROKE.
Horse-boy. My lord, we'll quickly be at Cobham.
[*Exeunt.*

ACT III.

SCENE I. *Country near Deddington.*

Enter GAVESTON *mourning*, JAMES *and other* Attendants *of* PEMBROKE.

Gav. O treacherous Warwick, thus to wrong thy friend!
James. I see it is your life these arms pursue.
Gav. Weaponless must I fall, and die in bands?
Oh! must this day be period of my life,
Centre of all my bliss? An ye be men,
Speed to the king.

Enter WARWICK *and* Soldiers.

War. My lord of Pembroke's men,
Strive you no longer: I will have that Gaveston.
James. Your lordship doth dishonour to yourself,
And wrong our lord, your honourable friend.
War. No, James, it is my country's cause I follow.—
Go, take the villain; soldiers, come away;
We'll make quick work.—Commend me to your master,
My friend, and tell him that I watch'd it well.
Come, let thy shadow parley with King Edward.
Gav. Treacherous earl, shall not I see the king?
War. The King of heaven perhaps, no other king.—
Away! [*Exeunt* WARWICK *and* Soldiers *with* GAVESTON.
James. Come, fellows; it booted not for us to strive;
We will in haste go certify our lord. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *King's camp, near Boroughbridge, Yorkshire.*

Enter KING EDWARD, *the younger* SPENSER, BALDOCK, Noblemen *of the king's side, and* Soldiers *with drums and fifes.*

K. Edw. I long to hear an answer from the barons
Touching my friend, my dearest Gaveston.
Ah, Spenser, not the riches of my realm
Can ransom him! ah, he is mark'd to die!
I know the malice of the younger Mortimer;
Warwick I know is rough, and Lancaster
Inexorable, and I shall never see
My lovely Pierce of Gaveston again:
The barons overbear me with their pride.

Y. Spen. Were I King Edward, England's sovereign,
Son to the lovely Eleanor of Spain,
Great Edward Longshanks' issue, would I bear
These braves, this rage, and suffer uncontroll'd
These barons thus to beard me in my land,
In mine own realm? My lord, pardon my speech;
Did you retain your father's magnanimity,
Did you regard the honour of your name,
You would not suffer thus your majesty
Be counterbuff'd of your nobility.
Strike off their heads, and let them preach on poles:
No doubt, such lessons they will teach the rest,
As by their preachments they will profit much,
And learn obedience to their lawful king.

K. Edw. Yea, gentle Spenser, we have been too mild,
Too kind to them; but now have drawn our sword,
And if they send me not my Gaveston,
We'll steel it on their crest, and poll their tops.

Bald. This haught resolve becomes your majesty,
Not to be tied to their affection,
As though your highness were a schoolboy still,
And must be aw'd and govern'd like a child.

Enter the elder SPENSER, *with his truncheon, and* Soldiers.

E. Spen. Long live my sovereign, the noble Edward,
In peace triumphant, fortunate in wars!

K. Edw. Welcome, old man; com'st thou in Edward's aid?
Then tell thy prince of whence, and what thou art.

E. Spen. Lo, with a band of bow-men and of pikes,
Brown bills and targeters, four hundred strong,
Sworn to defend King Edward's royal right,
I come in person to your majesty,
Spenser, the father of Hugh Spenser there,
Bound to your highness everlastingly
For favour done, in him, unto us all.

K. Edw. Thy father, Spenser?

Y. Spen. True, an it like your grace,
That pours, in lieu of all your goodness shown,
His life, my lord, before your princely feet.

K. Edw. Welcome ten thousand times, old man, again.
Spenser, this love, this kindness to thy king,
Argues thy noble mind and disposition.
Spenser, I here create thee Earl of Wiltshire,
And daily will enrich thee with our favour,
That, as the sun-shine, shall reflect o'er thee.
Beside, the more to manifest our love,
Because we hear Lord Bruse doth sell his land,
And that the Mortimers are in hand withal,
Thou shalt have crowns of us t' outbid the barons;
And, Spenser, spare them not, lay it on.
Soldiers, a largess, and thrice welcome all!

Y. Spen. My lord, here comes the queen.

Enter QUEEN ISABELLA, PRINCE EDWARD, *and* LEVUNE.

K. Edw. Madam, what news?

Q. Isab. News of dishonour, lord, and discontent.
Our friend Levune, faithful and full of trust,
Informeth us, by letters and by words,

That Lord Valois our brother, King of France,
Because your highness hath been slack in homage,
Hath seizèd Normandy into his hands.
These be the letters, this the messenger.

K. Edw. Welcome, Levune.—Tush, Sib, if this be all,
Valois and I will soon be friends again.—
But to my Gaveston: shall I never see,
Never behold thee now?—Madam, in this matter
We will employ you and your little son;
You shall go parley with the King of France.—
Boy, see you bear you bravely to the king,
And do your message with a majesty.

P. Edw. Commit not to my youth things of more weight
Than fits a prince so young as I to bear;
And fear not, lord and father,—heaven's great beams
On Atlas' shoulder shall not lie more safe
Than shall your charge committed to my trust.

Q. Isab. Ah, boy! this towardness makes thy mother fear
Thou art not mark'd to many days on earth.

K. Edw. Madam, we will that you with speed be shipp'd,
And this our son; Levune shall follow you
With all the haste we can despatch him hence.
Choose of our lords to bear you company;
And go in peace; leave us in wars at home.

Q. Isab. Unnatural wars, where subjects brave their king;
God end them once! My lord, I take my leave,
To make my preparation for France.

[*Exit with* PRINCE EDWARD.

Enter ARUNDEL.

K. Edw. What, Lord Arundel, dost thou come alone?

Arun. Yea, my good lord, for Gaveston is dead.

K. Edw. Ah, traitors, have they put my friend to death?
Tell me, Arundel, died he ere thou cam'st,
Or didst thou see my friend to take his death?

Arun. Neither, my lord; for as he was surpris'd,

Begirt with weapons and with enemies round,
I did your highness' message to them all,
Demanding him of them, entreating rather,
And said, upon the honour of my name,
That I would undertake to carry him
Unto your highness, and to bring him back.

K. Edw. And tell me, would the rebels deny me that?

Y. Spen. Proud recreants!

K. Edw. Yea, Spenser, traitors all.

Arun. I found them at the first inexorable;
The Earl of Warwick would not bide the hearing,
Mortimer hardly; Pembroke and Lancaster
Spake least: and when they flatly had denied,
Refusing to receive me pledge for him,
The Earl of Pembroke mildly thus bespake;
'My lords, because our sovereign sends for him,
And promiseth he shall be safe return'd,
I will this undertake to have him hence,
And see him re-deliver'd to your hands.'

K. Edw. Well, and how fortunes that he came not?

Y. Spen. Some treason or some villany was cause.

Arun. The Earl of Warwick seiz'd him on his way;
For, being deliver'd unto Pembroke's men,
Their lord rode home thinking his prisoner safe;
But ere he came, Warwick in ambush lay,
And bare him to his death; and in a trench
Strake off his head, and march'd unto the camp.

Y. Spen. A bloody part, flatly 'gainst law of arms.

K. Edw. O shall I speak, or shall I sigh and die!

Y. Spen. My lord, refer your vengeance to the sword
Upon these barons; hearten up your men;
Let them not unreveng'd murder your friends!
Advance your standard, Edward, in the field,
And march to fire them from their starting holes.

K. Edw. [*kneeling*]. By earth, the common mother of us all,

By heaven, and all the moving orbs thereof,
By this right hand, and by my father's sword,
And all the honours 'longing to my crown,
I will have heads, and lives for him, as many
As I have manors, castles, towns, and towers! [*Rises.*
Treacherous Warwick! traitorous Mortimer!
If I be England's king, in lakes of gore
Your headless trunks, your bodies will I trail,
That you may drink your fill, and quaff in blood.
And stain my royal standard with the same,
That so my bloody colours may suggest
Remembrance of revenge immortally
On your accursèd traitorous progeny,
You villains, that have slain my Gaveston!—
And in his place of honour and of trust,
Spenser, sweet Spenser, I adopt thee here:
And merely of our love we do create thee
Earl of Glocester, and Lord Chamberlain,
Despite of times, despite of enemies.

Y. Spen. My lord, here is a messenger from the barons
Desires access unto your majesty.

K. Edw. Admit him near.

Enter Herald, *with his coat of arms.*

Her. Long live King Edward, England's lawful lord!

K. Edw. So wish not they, I wis, that sent thee hither.
Thou com'st from Mortimer and his complices;
A ranker rout of rebels never was.
Well, say thy message.

Her. The barons up in arms by me salute
Your highness with long life and happiness;
And bid me say, as plainer to your grace,
That if without effusion of blood
You will this grief have ease and remedy,
That from your princely person you remove
This Spenser, as a putrifying branch,
That deads the royal vine, whose golden leaves

Empale your princely head, your diadem;
Whose brightness such pernicious upstarts dim,
Say they, and lovingly advise your grace
To cherish virtue and nobility,
And have old servitors in high esteem,
And shake off smooth dissembling flatterers:
This granted, they, their honours, and their lives,
Are to your highness vow'd and consecrate.

Y. Spen. Ah, traitors, will they still display their pride?

K. Edw. Away! tarry no answer, but be gone!—
Rebels, will they appoint their sovereign
His sports, his pleasures, and his company?—
Yet, ere thou go, see how I do divorce
[*Embraces* SPENSER.
Spenser from me.—Now get thee to thy lords,
And tell them I will come to chastise them
For murdering Gaveston; hie thee, get thee gone!
Edward with fire and sword follows at thy heels.
[*Exit* Herald.
My lord, perceive you how these rebels swell?—
Soldiers, good hearts! defend your sovereign's right,
For now, even now, we march to make them stoop.
Away!

[*Exeunt. Alarums, excursions, a great fight, and a retreat sounded, within.*

SCENE III. *Another part of the field, Boroughbridge.*

Enter KING EDWARD, *the elder* SPENSER, *the younger* SPENSER, BALDOCK, *and* Noblemen *of the king's side.*

K. Edw. Why do we sound retreat? upon them, lords!
This day I shall pour vengeance with my sword
On those proud rebels that are up in arms,
And do confront and countermand their king.

Y. Spen. I doubt it not, my lord, right will prevail.

E. Spen. 'Tis not amiss, my liege, for either part
To breathe awhile; our men, with sweat and dust
All chok'd well near, begin to faint for heat;
And this retire refresheth horse and man.

Y. Spen. Here come the rebels.

Enter the younger MORTIMER, LANCASTER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *and others.*

Y. Mor. Look, Lancaster, yonder is Edward
Among his flatterers.

Lan. And there let him be
Till he pay dearly for their company.

War. And shall, or Warwick's sword shall smite in vain.

K. Edw. What, rebels, do you shrink and sound retreat?

Y. Mor. No, Edward, no; thy flatterers faint and fly.

Lan. They had best betimes forsake thee and their trains,
For they'll betray thee, traitors as they are.

Y. Spen. Traitor on thy face, rebellious Lancaster!

Pem. Away, base upstart! brav'st thou nobles thus?

E. Spen. A noble attempt, and honourable deed,
Is it not, trow ye, to assemble aid,
And levy arms against your lawful king!

K. Edw. For which ere long their heads shall satisfy,
To appease the wrath of their offended king.

Y. Mor. Then, Edward, thou wilt fight it to the last,
And rather bathe thy sword in subjects' blood,
Than banish that pernicious company?

K. Edw. Ay, traitors all, rather than thus be brav'd,
Make England's civil towns huge heaps of stones,
And ploughs to go about our palace gates.

War. A desperate and unnatural resolution!—
Alarum to the fight!
St. George for England, and the barons' right.

K. Edw. St. George for England, and King Edward's right. [*Alarums. Exeunt the two parties severally.*

Enter KING EDWARD *and his followers, with the* Barons *and* KENT, *captives.*

K. Edw. Now, lusty lords, now not by chance of war,
But justice of the quarrel and the cause,
Vail'd is your pride; methinks you hang the heads;
But we'll advance them, traitors; now 'tis time
To be aveng'd on you for all your braves,
And for the murder of my dearest friend,
To whom right well you knew our soul was knit,
Good Pierce of Gaveston, my sweet favourite.
Ah, rebels, recreants, you made him away.

Kent. Brother, in regard of thee, and of thy land,
Did they remove that flatterer from thy throne.

K. Edw. So, sir, you have spoke; away, avoid our presence! [*Exit* KENT.
Accursèd wretches, was't in regard of us,
When we had sent our messenger to request
He might be spar'd to come to speak with us,
And Pembroke undertook for his return,
That thou, proud Warwick, watch'd the prisoner,
Poor Pierce, and headed him 'gainst law of arms?
For which thy head shall overlook the rest,
As much as thou in rage outwent'st the rest.

War. Tyrant, I scorn thy threats and menaces,
It is but temporal that thou canst inflict.

Lan. The worst is death; and better die to live
Than live in infamy under such a king.

K. Edw. Away with them, my lord of Winchester! 60
These lusty leaders, Warwick and Lancaster,
I charge you roundly, off with both their heads!
Away!

War. Farewell, vain world!

Lan. Sweet Mortimer, farewell.

Y. Mor. England, unkind to thy nobility, 65
Groan for this grief! behold how thou art maim'd!

K. Edw Go, take that haughty Mortimer to the Tower,

There see him safe bestow'd; and for the rest,
Do speedy execution on them all.
Be gone!

Y. Mor. What, Mortimer! can ragged stony walls
Immure thy virtue that aspires to heaven?
No, Edward, England's scourge, it may not be,
Mortimer's hope surmounts his fortune far.

[*The captive* Barons *are led off.*

K. Edw. Sound drums and trumpets! March with me, my friends.
Edward this day hath crown'd him king anew.

[*Exeunt all except the younger* SPENSER, LEVUNE, *and* BALDOCK.

Y. Spen. Levune, the trust that we repose in thee
Begets the quiet of King Edward's land:
Therefore be gone in haste, and with advice
Bestow that treasure on the lords of France,
That, therewith all enchanted, like the guard
That suffer'd Jove to pass in showers of gold
To Danae, all aid may be denied
To Isabel, the queen, that now in France
Makes friends, to cross the seas with her young son,
And step into his father's regiment.

Levune. That's it these barons and the subtle queen
Long levell'd at.

Bal. Yea, but, Levune, thou seest,
These barons lay their heads on blocks together;
What they intend, the hangman frustrates clean.

Levune. Have you no doubt, my lords, I'll clap so close
Among the lords of France with England's gold,
That Isabel shall make her plaints in vain,
And France shall be obdurate with her tears.

Y. Spen. Then make for France amain; Levune, away!
Proclaim King Edward's wars and victories. [*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

SCENE I. *London, a Street near the Tower.*

Enter KENT.

Kent. Fair blows the wind for France; blow, gentle gale,
Till Edmund be arriv'd for England's good!
Nature, yield to my country's cause in this!
A brother? no, a butcher of thy friends!
Proud Edward, dost thou banish me thy presence?
But I'll to France, and cheer the wronged queen,
And certify what Edward's looseness is.
Unnatural king! to slaughter noblemen
And cherish flatterers! Mortimer, I stay
Thy sweet escape. Stand gracious, gloomy night,
To his device!

Enter the younger MORTIMER, *disguised.*

Y. Mor. Holla! who walketh there?
Is't you, my lord?

Kent. Mortimer, 'tis I.
But hath thy potion wrought so happily?

Y. Mor. It hath, my lord; the warders, all asleep,
I thank them, gave me leave to pass in peace.
But hath your grace got shipping unto France?

Kent. Fear it not. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *Paris.*

Enter QUEEN ISABELLA *and* PRINCE EDWARD.

Q. Isab. Ah, boy! our friends do fail us all in France!
The lords are cruel, and the king unkind.
What shall we do?

P. Edw. Madam, return to England,
And please my father well; and then a fig

For all my uncle's friendship here in France!
I warrant you, I'll win his highness quickly;
'A loves me better than a thousand Spensers.

Q. Isab. Ah, boy, thou art deceiv'd, at least in this,
To think that we can yet be tun'd together!
No, no, we jar too far.—Unkind Valois!
Unhappy Isabel! when France rejects,
Whither, O, whither dost thou bend thy steps?

Enter SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.

Sir J. Madam, what cheer?

Q. Isab. Ah, good Sir John of Hainault,
Never so cheerless, nor so far distrest!

Sir J. I hear, sweet lady, of the king's unkindness;
But droop not, madam; noble minds contemn
Despair. Will your grace with me to Hainault,
And there stay time's advantage with your son?—
How say you, my lord? will you go with your friends,
And shake off all our fortunes equally?

P. Edw. So please the queen my mother me it likes:
The King of England, nor the court of France,
Shall have me from my gracious mother's side,
Till I be strong enough to break a staff;
And then have at the proudest Spenser's head!

Sir J. Well said, my lord!

Q. Isab. O, my sweet heart, how do I moan thy wrongs,
Yet triumph in the hope of thee, my joy!—
Ah, sweet Sir John, even to the utmost verge
Of Europe, or the shore of Tanais,
Will we with thee to Hainault—so we will:—
The marquis is a noble gentleman;
His grace, I dare presume, will welcome me.—
But who are these?

Enter KENT *and the younger* MORTIMER.

Kent. Madam, long may you live
Much happier than your friends in England do!

Q. Isab. Lord Edmund and Lord Mortimer alive!
Welcome to France! the news was here, my lord,
That you were dead, or very near your death.

Y. Mor. Lady, the last was truest of the twain:
But Mortimer, reserv'd for better hap,
Hath shaken off the thraldom of the Tower,
And lives t' advance your standard, good my lord.

P. Edw. How mean you, and the king my father lives?
No, my Lord Mortimer, not I, I trow.

Q. Isab. Not, son! why not? I would it were no worse!—
But, gentle lords, friendless we are in France.

Y. Mor. Monsieur Le Grand, a noble friend of yours,
Told us, at our arrival, all the news,—
How hard the nobles, how unkind the king
Hath shew'd himself: but, madam, right makes room
Where weapons want: and, though a many friends
Are made away, as Warwick, Lancaster,
And others of our party and faction;
Yet have we friends, assure your grace, in England
Would cast up caps, and clap their hands for joy,
To see us there, appointed for our foes.

Kent. Would all were well, and Edward well reclaim'd,
For England's honour, peace, and quietness!

Y. Mor. But by the sword, my lord, 't must be deserv'd;
The king will ne'er forsake his flatterers.

Sir J. My lords of England, sith th' ungentle king
Of France refuseth to give aid of arms
To this distressed queen his sister here,
Go you with her to Hainault; doubt ye not,
We will find comfort, money, men, and friends,
Ere long, to bid the English king a base.
How say, young prince, what think you of the match?

P. Edw. I think King Edward will outrun us all.

Q. Isab. Nay, son, not so; and you must not discourage
Your friends that are so forward in your aid.

Kent. Sir John of Hainault, pardon us, I pray;
These comforts that you give our woful queen
Bind us in kindness all at your command.

Q. Isab. Yea, gentle brother; and the God of heaven
Prosper your happy motion, good Sir John!

Y. Mor. This noble gentleman, forward in arms,
Was born, I see, to be our anchor-hold.—
Sir John of Hainault, be it thy renown,
That England's queen and nobles in distress
Have been by thee restor'd and comforted.

Sir J. Madam, along, and you, my lord, with me,
That England's peers may Hainault's welcome see.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *London, a room in the King's Palace.*

Enter KING EDWARD, ARUNDEL, *the elder* SPENSER, *the younger* SPENSER, *and others.*

K. Edw. Thus after many threats of wrathful war
Triumpheth England's Edward with his friends;
And triumph Edward with his friends uncontroll'd!
My lord of Glocester, do you hear the news?

Y. Spen. What news, my lord?

K. Edw. Why, man, they say there is great execution
Done through the realm. My lord of Arundel,
You have the note, have you not?

Arun. From the lieutenant of the Tower, my lord.

K. Edw. I pray let us see it. [*Takes the note from* ARUNDEL.] What have we there?
Read it, Spenser.

[*Gives the note to the younger* SPENSER, *who reads their names.*

Why so; they bark'd apace a month ago:
Now, on my life, they'll neither bark nor bite,
Now, sirs, the news from France? Glocester, I trow,
The lords of France love England's gold so well,
As Isabella gets no aid from thence.

What now remains? have you proclaim'd, my lord,
Reward for them can bring in Mortimer?

Y. Spen. My lord, we have; and if he be in England,
'A will be had ere long, I doubt it not.

K. Edw. If, dost thou say? Spenser, as true as death,
He is in England's ground; our portmasters
Are not so careless of their king's command.

Enter a Messenger.

How now! what news with thee? from whence come these?

Mes. Letters, my lord, and tidings forth of France
To you, my lord of Glocester, from Levune.

[*Gives letters to the younger* SPENSER.

K. Edw. Read.

Y. Spen. [reading]. *My duty to your honour premised, &c., I have, according to instructions in that behalf, dealt with the King of France his lords, and effected, that the queen, all discontented and discomforted, is gone: whither, if you ask, with Sir John of Hainault, brother to the marquis, into Flanders. With them are gone Lord Edmund, and the Lord Mortimer, having in their company divers of your nation, and others; and, as constant report goeth, they intend to give King Edward battle in England, sooner than he can look for them. This is all the news of import.—Your honour's in all service,* LEVUNE.

K. Edw. Ah, villains, hath that Mortimer escap'd?
With him is Edmund gone associate?
And will Sir John of Hainault lead the round?
Welcome, a' God's name, madam, and your son!
England shall welcome you and all your rout.
Gallop apace, bright Phœbus, through the sky,
And dusky Night, in rusty iron car,
Between you both shorten the time, I pray,
That I may see that most desirèd day,
When we may meet these traitors in the field!
Ah, nothing grieves me, but my little boy
Is thus misled to countenance their ills!
Come, friends, to Bristow, there to make us strong;

And, winds, as equal be to bring them in,
As you injurious were to bear them forth! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *The Queen's Camp, near Orwell, Suffolk.*

Enter QUEEN ISABELLA, PRINCE EDWARD, KENT, *the younger* MORTIMER, *and* SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.

Q. Isab. Now, lords, our loving friends and countrymen,
Welcome to England all, with prosperous winds!
Our kindest friends in Belgia have we left,
To cope with friends at home; a heavy case
When force to force is knit, and sword and glaive
In civil broils make kin and countrymen
Slaughter themselves in others, and their sides
With their own weapons gor'd! But what's the help?
Misgovern'd kings are cause of all this wreck;
And, Edward, thou art one among them all,
Whose looseness hath betray'd thy land to spoil,
And made the channel overflow with blood
Of thine own people; patron shouldst thou be,
But thou——

Y. Mor. Nay, madam, if you be a warrior,
You must not grow so passionate in speeches.
Lords, sith that we are by sufferance of heaven,
Arriv'd, and armèd in this prince's right,
Here for our country's cause swear we to him
All homage, fealty, and forwardness;
And for the open wrongs and injuries
Edward hath done to us, his queen, and land,
We come in arms to wreak it with the sword;
That England's queen in peace may repossess
Her dignities and honours: and withal
We may remove these flatterers from the king,
That havock England's wealth and treasury.

Sir J. Sound trumpets, my lord, and forward let us march.
Edward will think we come to flatter him.

Kent. I would he never had been flatter'd more! [*Exeunt.*

Scene V. *Near Bristol.*

Enter King Edward, Baldock, *and the younger* Spenser.

Y. Spen. Fly, fly, my lord! the queen is over-strong;
Her friends do multiply, and yours do fail.
Shape we our course to Ireland, there to breathe.

K. Edw. What, was I born to fly, and run away,
And leave the Mortimers conquerors behind?
Give me my horse, let us reinforce our troops,
And in this bed of honour die with fame.

Bald. O no, my lord! this princely resolution
Fits not the time; away! we are pursued. [*Exeunt.*

Enter Kent, *with a sword and target.*

Kent. This way he fled; but I am come too late.
Edward, alas, my heart relents for thee!
Proud traitor, Mortimer, why dost thou chase
Thy lawful king, thy sovereign, with thy sword?
Vile wretch, and why hast thou, of all unkind,
Borne arms against thy brother and thy king?
Rain showers of vengeance on my cursèd head,
Thou God, to whom in justice it belongs
To punish this unnatural revolt!
Edward, this Mortimer aims at thy life:
O, fly him then! But, Edmund, calm this rage;
Dissemble, or thou diest; for Mortimer
And Isabel do kiss, while they conspire:
And yet she bears a face of love forsooth:
Fie on that love that hatcheth death and hate!
Edmund, away! Bristow to Longshanks' blood
Is false; be not found single for suspect:
Proud Mortimer pries near into thy walks.

Enter Queen Isabella, Prince Edward, *the younger* Mortimer, *and* Sir John of Hainault.

Q. Isab. Successful battle gives the God of kings
To them that fight in right, and fear his wrath.

Since then successfully we have prevail'd
Thankèd be heaven's great architect, and you!
Ere farther we proceed, my noble lords,
We here create our well-belovèd son,
Of love and care unto his royal person,
Lord Warden of the realm, and sith the fates
Have made his father so infortunate,
Deal you, my lords, in this, my loving lords,
As to your wisdoms fittest seems in all.

Kent. Madam, without offence if I may ask,
How will you deal with Edward in his fall?

Prince. Tell me, good uncle, what Edward do you, mean?

Kent. Nephew, your father; I dare not call him king.

Y. Mor. My lord of Kent what needs these questions?
'Tis not in her controlment nor in ours;
But as the realm and parliament shall please,
So shall your brother be disposèd of.—
I like not this relenting mood in Edmund:
Madam, 'tis good to look to him betimes.

[*Aside to the* QUEEN.

Q. Isab. My lord, the Mayor of Bristow knows our mind.

Y. Mor. Yea, madam; and they scape not easily
That fled the field.

Q. Isab. Baldock is with the king:
A goodly chancellor is he not, my lord?

Sir J. So are the Spensers, the father and the son.

Y. Mor. This Edward is the ruin of the realm.

Enter RICE AP HOWEL, *and the* MAYOR OF BRISTOW, *with the elder* SPENSER *prisoner, and* Attendants.

Rice. God save Queen Isabel and her princely son!
Madam, the Mayor and citizens of Bristow,
In sign of love and duty to this presence,
Present by me this traitor to the state,
Spenser, the father to that wanton Spenser,

That, like the lawless Catiline of Rome,
Revell'd in England's wealth and treasury.

Q. Isab. We thank you all.

Y. Mor. Your loving care in this
Deserveth princely favours and rewards.
But where's the king and the other Spenser fled?

Rice. Spenser the son, created Earl of Glocester,
Is with that smooth-tongu'd scholar Baldock gone,
And shipp'd but late for Ireland with the king.

Y. Mor. Some whirlwind fetch them back or sink them all.— [*Aside.*
They shall be started thence, I doubt it not.

P. Edw. Shall I not see the king my father yet?

Kent. Unhappy Edward, chas'd from England's bounds.

Sir J. Madam, what resteth, why stand ye in a muse?

Q. Isab. I rue my lord's ill-fortune; but, alas!
Care of my country call'd me to this war!

Y. Mor. Madam, have done with care and sad complaint;
Your king hath wrong'd your country and himself,
And we must seek to right it as we may.—
Meanwhile, have hence this rebel to the block.

E. Spen. Rebel is he that fights against the prince;
So fought not they that fought in Edward's right.

Y. Mor. Take him away, he prates.
[*Exeunt* Attendants *with the elder* SPENSER.
You, Rice ap Howel,
Shall do good service to her majesty,
Being of countenance in your country here,
To follow these rebellious runagates.—
We in meanwhile, madam, must take advice,
How Baldock, Spenser, and their complices,
May in their fall be follow'd to their end. [*Exeunt.*

Scene VI. *Within the Abbey of Neath.*

Enter the Abbot, Monks, King Edward, *the younger* Spenser, and Baldock (*the three last disguised*).

Abbot. Have you no doubt, my lord; have you no fear;
As silent and as careful we will be,
To keep your royal person safe with us,
Free from suspect, and fell invasion
Of such as have your majesty in chase,
Yourself, and those your chosen company,
As danger of this stormy time requires.

K. Edw. Father, thy face should harbour no deceit.
O! hadst thou ever been a king, thy heart,
Pierc'd deeply with sense of my distress,
Could not but take compassion of my state!
Stately and proud, in riches and in train,
Whilom I was, powerful, and full of pomp:
But what is he whom rule and empery
Have not in life or death made miserable?
Come, Spenser, come, Baldock, come, sit down by me;
Make trial now of that philosophy,
That in our famous nurseries of arts
Thou suck'dst from Plato and from Aristotle.—
Father, this life contemplative is heaven:
O, that I might this life in quiet lead!
But we, alas, are chas'd!—and you, my friends,
Your lives and my dishonour they pursue.—
Yet, gentle monks, for treasure, gold nor fee,
Do you betray us and our company.

First Monk. Your grace may sit secure, if none but we
Do wot of your abode.

Y. Spen. Not one alive; but shrewdly I suspect
A gloomy fellow in a mead below;
'A gave a long look after us, my lord;
And all the land I know is up in arms,
Arms that pursue our lives with deadly hate.

Bald. We were embark'd for Ireland; wretched we,
With awkward winds and sore tempests driven,
To fall on shore, and here to pine in fear
Of Mortimer and his confederates!

K. Edw. Mortimer! who talks of Mortimer?
Who wounds me with the name of Mortimer,
That bloody man?—Good father, on thy lap
Lay I this head, laden with mickle care.
O might I never ope these eyes again,
Never again lift up this drooping head,
O, never more lift up this dying heart!

Y. Spen. Look up, my lord.—Baldock, this drowsiness
Betides no good; here even we are betray'd.

Enter, with Welsh hooks, RICE AP HOWEL, *a* Mower, *and* LEICESTER.

Mow. Upon my life, these be the men ye seek.

Rice. Fellow, enough.—My lord, I pray be short;
A fair commission warrants what we do.

Leices. The queen's commission, urg'd by Mortimer:
What cannot gallant Mortimer with the queen?—
Alas, see where he sits, and hopes unseen
T' escape their hands that seek to reave his life!
Too true it is, *Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,*
Hunc dies vidit fugiens jacentem.
But, Leicester, leave to grow so passionate.—
Spenser and Baldock, by no other names,
I arrest you of high treason here.
Stand not on titles, but obey th' arrest;
'Tis in the name of Isabel the queen.—
My lord, why droop you thus?

K. Edw. O day the last of all my bliss on earth!
Centre of all misfortune! O my stars,
Why do you lour unkindly on a king?
Comes Leicester, then, in Isabella's name,
To take my life, my company from me?
Here, man, rip up this panting breast of mine,
And take my heart in rescue of my friends.

Rice. Away with them!

Y. Spen. It may become thee yet
To let us take our farewell of his grace.

Abbot. My heart with pity yearns to see this sight;
A king to bear these words and proud commands! [*Aside.*

K. Edw. Spenser, ah, sweet Spenser, thus then must we part?

Y. Spen. We must, my lord; so will the angry heavens.

K. Edw. Nay, so will hell and cruel Mortimer;
The gentle heavens have not to do in this.

Bald. My lord, it is in vain to grieve or storm.
Here humbly of your grace we take our leaves;
Our lots are cast; I fear me, so is thine.

K. Edw. In heaven we may, in earth ne'er shall we meet:—
And, Leicester, say, what shall become of us?

Leices. Your majesty must go to Killingworth.

K. Edw. Must! it is somewhat hard when kings must go.

Leices. Here is a litter ready for your grace,
That waits your pleasure, and the day grows old.

Rice. As good be gone, as stay and be benighted.

K. Edw. A litter hast thou? lay me in a hearse,
And to the gates of hell convey me hence;
Let Pluto's bells ring out my fatal knell,
And hags howl for my death at Charon's shore;
For friends hath Edward none but these and these,
And these must die under a tyrant's sword.

Rice. My lord, be going; care not for these;
For we shall see them shorter by the heads.

K. Edw. Well, that shall be, shall be: part we must;
Sweet Spenser, gentle Baldock, part we must.—
Hence, feigned weeds! unfeigned are my woes.—
[Throwing off his disguise.
Father, farewell.—Leicester, thou stay'st for me;
And go I must.—Life, farewell, with my friends!

[*Exeunt* KING EDWARD *and* LEICESTER.

Y. Spen. Oh, is he gone? is noble Edward gone?
Parted from hence, never to see us more?
Rent, sphere of heaven! and, fire, forsake thy orb!
Earth, melt to air! gone is my sovereign,
Gone, gone, alas, never to make return!

Bald. Spenser, I see our souls are fleeting hence;
We are deprived the sunshine of our life.
Make for a new life, man; throw up thy eyes
And heart and hand to heaven's immortal throne;
Pay nature's debt with cheerful countenance;
Reduce we all our lessons unto this,—
To die, sweet Spenser, therefore live we all;
Spenser, all live to die, and rise to fall.

Rice. Come, come, keep these preachments till you come to the place appointed. You, and such as you are, have made wise work in England. Will your lordships away?

Mow. Your lordship, I trust, will remember me?

Rice. Remember thee, fellow! what else? Follow me to the town. [*Exeunt.*

ACT V.

SCENE I. *Killingworth Castle.*

Enter KING EDWARD, LEICESTER, *the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, *and* TRUSSEL.

Leices. Be patient, good my lord, cease to lament;
Imagine Killingworth Castle were your court,
And that you lay for pleasure here a space,
Not of compulsion or necessity.

K. Edw. Leicester, if gentle words might comfort me,
Thy speeches long ago had eas'd my sorrow,
For kind and loving hast thou always been.
The griefs of private men are soon allay'd;
But not of kings. The forest deer, being struck,

Runs to an herb that closeth up the wounds;
But when the imperial lion's flesh is gor'd,
He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw,
[And], highly scorning that the lowly earth
Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air:
And so it fares with me, whose dauntless mind
Th' ambitious Mortimer would seek to curb,
And that unnatural queen, false Isabel,
That thus hath pent and mew'd me in a prison;
For such outrageous passions cloy my soul,
As with the wings of rancour and disdain,
Full often am I soaring up to heaven,
To plain me to the gods against them both.
But when I call to mind I am a king,
Methinks I should revenge me of my wrongs,
That Mortimer and Isabel have done.
But what are kings, when regiment is gone,
But perfect shadows in a sunshine day?
My nobles rule; I bear the name of king;
I wear the crown but am controll'd by them,
By Mortimer, and my unconstant queen
Who spots my nuptial bed with infamy;
Whilst I am lodg'd within this cave of care,
Where sorrow at my elbow still attends,
To company my heart with sad laments,
That bleeds within me for this strange exchange.
But tell me, must I now resign my crown,
To make usurping Mortimer a king?

Bish. of Win. Your grace mistakes, it is for England's good
And princely Edward's right we crave the crown.

K. Edw. No, 'tis for Mortimer, not Edward's head;
For he's a lamb, encompassèd by wolves,
Which in a moment will abridge his life.
But, if proud Mortimer do wear this crown,
Heavens turn it to a blaze of quenchless fire!
Or, like the snaky wreath of Tisiphon,
Engirt the temples of his hateful head!

So shall not England's vine be perishèd,
But Edward's name survive, though Edward dies.

Leices. My lord, why waste you thus the time away?
They stay your answer; will you yield your crown?

K. Edw. Ah, Leicester, weigh how hardly I can brook
To lose my crown and kingdom without cause;
To give ambitious Mortimer my right,
That like a mountain overwhelms my bliss;
In which extreme my mind here murder'd is!
But that, the heavens appoint, I must obey.—
Here, take my crown; the life of Edward too;
[*Taking off the crown.*
Two kings in England cannot reign at once.
But stay a while: let me be king till night,
That I may gaze upon this glittering crown;
So shall my eyes receive their last content,
My head, the latest honour due to it,
And jointly both yield up their wishèd right.
Continue ever, thou celestial sun;
Let never silent night possess this clime:
Stand still, you watches of the element;
All times and seasons, rest you at a stay,
That Edward may be still fair England's king!
But day's bright beam doth vanish fast away,
And needs I must resign my wishèd crown.
Inhuman creatures, nursed with tiger's milk,
Why gape you for your sovereign's overthrow?
My diadem, I mean, and guiltless life.
See, monsters, see! I 'll wear my crown again.
[*Putting on the crown.*
What, fear you not the fury of your king?—
But, hapless Edward, thou art fondly led;
They pass not for thy frowns as late they did,
But seek to make a new-elected king;
Which fills my mind with strange despairing thoughts,
Which thoughts are martyrèd with endless torments;
And in this torment comfort find I none,

But that I feel the crown upon my head;
And therefore let me wear it yet a while.

Trus. My lord, the parliament must have present news;
And therefore say, will you resign or no?
[*The* KING *rageth.*

K. Edw. I'll not resign, but whilst I live [be king].
Traitors, be gone, and join you with Mortimer!
Elect, conspire, install, do what you will:
Their blood and yours shall seal these treacheries.

Bish. of Win. This answer we'll return, and so farewell. [*Going with* TRUSSEL.

Leices. Call them again, my lord, and speak them fair;
For if they go, the prince shall lose his right.

K. Edw. Call thou them back; I have no power to speak.

Leices. My lord, the king is willing to resign.

Bish. of Win. If he be not, let him choose.

K. Edw. O would I might! but heavens and earth conspire
To make me miserable. Here, receive my crown.
Receive it? no, these innocent hands of mine
Shall not be guilty of so foul a crime:
He of you all that most desires my blood,
And will be call'd the murderer of a king,
Take it. What, are you mov'd? pity you me?
Then send for unrelenting Mortimer,
And Isabel, whose eyes, being turn'd to steel,
Will sooner sparkle fire than shed a tear.
Yet stay; for rather than I'll look on them,
Here, here! [*Gives the crown.*] Now, sweet God of heaven,
Make me despise this transitory pomp,
And sit for aye enthronizèd in heaven!
Come, death, and with thy fingers close my eyes,
Or if I live, let me forget myself!

Bish. of Win. My lord,—

K. Edw. Call me not lord; away, out of my sight!
Ah, pardon me! grief makes me lunatic.
Let not that Mortimer protect my son;
More safety there is in a tiger's jaws
Than his embracements. Bear this to the queen,
Wet with my tears, and dried again with sighs;
[*Gives a handkerchief.*
If with the sight thereof she be not mov'd,
Return it back and dip it in my blood.
Commend me to my son, and bid him rule
Better than I: yet how have I transgress'd
Unless it be with too much clemency?

Trus. And thus, most humbly do we take our leave.

[*Exeunt the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *and* TRUSSEL *with the crown.*

K. Edw. Farewell; I know the next news that they bring
Will be my death; and welcome shall it be;
To wretched men death is felicity.

Leices. Another post! what news brings he?

Enter BERKELEY, *who gives a paper to* LEICESTER.

K. Edw. Such news as I expect.—Come, Berkeley, come,
And tell thy message to my naked breast.

Berk. My lord, think not a thought so villanous
Can harbour in a man of noble birth.
To do your highness service and devoir,
And save you from your foes, Berkeley would die.

Leices. My lord, the council of the queen commands
That I resign my charge.

K. Edw. And who must keep me now? Must you, my lord?

Berk. Ay, my most gracious lord; so 'tis decreed.

K. Edw. [*taking the paper*]. By Mortimer, whose name is written here!
Well may I rent his name that rends my heart. [*Tears it.*

This poor revenge hath something eas'd my mind.
So may his limbs be torn, as is this paper!
Hear me, immortal Jove, and grant it too!

Berk. Your grace must hence with me to Berkeley straight.

K. Edw. Whither you will; all places are alike,
And every earth is fit for burial.

Leices. Favour him, my lord, as much as lieth in you.

Berk. Even so betide my soul as I use him.

K. Edw. Mine enemy hath pitied my estate,
And that's the cause that I am now remov'd.

Berk. And thinks your grace that Berkeley will be cruel?

K. Edw. I know not; but of this am I assur'd,
That death ends all, and I can die but once.—
Leicester, farewell.

Leices. Not yet, my lord; I'll bear you on your way.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *Westminster, a room in the palace.*

Enter QUEEN ISABELLA *and the younger* MORTIMER.

Y. Mor. Fair Isabel, now have we our desire;
The proud corrupters of the light-brain'd king
Have done their homage to the lofty gallows,
And he himself lies in captivity.
Be rul'd by me, and we will rule the realm.
In any case take heed of childish fear,
For now we hold an old wolf by the ears,
That, if he slip, will seize upon us both,
And gripe the sorer, being grip'd himself.
Think therefore, madam, that imports us much
To erect your son with all the speed we may,
And that I be protector over him;
For our behoof, 'twill bear the greater sway
Whenas a king's name shall be under-writ.

Q. Isab. Sweet Mortimer, the life of Isabel,
Be thou persuaded that I love thee well;
And therefore, so the prince my son be safe,
Whom I esteem as dear as these mine eyes,
Conclude against his father what thou wilt,
And I myself will willingly subscribe.

Y. Mor. First would I hear news he were depos'd,
And then let me alone to handle him.

Enter Messenger.

Letters! from whence?

Mess. From Killingworth, my lord.

Q. Isab. How fares my lord the king?

Mess. In health, madam, but full of pensiveness.

Q. Isab. Alas, poor soul, would I could ease his grief!

Enter the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *with the crown.*

Thanks, gentle Winchester.—Sirrah, be gone.
[*Exit* Messenger.

Bish. of Win. The king hath willingly resign'd his crown.

Q. Isab. O happy news! send for the prince my son.

Bish. of Win. Further, or this letter was seal'd, Lord Berkeley came,
So that he now is gone from Killingworth;
And we have heard that Edmund laid a plot
To set his brother free; no more but so.
The lord of Berkeley is so pitiful
As Leicester that had charge of him before.

Q. Isab. Then let some other be his guardian.

Y. Mor. Let me alone; here is the privy seal.—
[*Exit the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
Who's there?—Call hither Gurney and Matrevis.—
[*To* Attendants *within.*
To dash the heavy-headed Edmund's drift,
Berkeley shall be discharg'd, the king remov'd,
And none but we shall know where he lieth.

Q. Isab. But, Mortimer, as long as he survives,
What safety rests for us, or for my son?

Y. Mor. Speak, shall he presently be despatch'd and die?

Q. Isab. I would he were, so 'twere not by my means.

Enter MATREVIS *and* GURNEY.

Y. Mor. Enough. Matrevis, write a letter presently
Unto the lord of Berkeley from ourself
That he resign the king to thee and Gurney;
And when 'tis done, we will subscribe our name.

Mat. It shall be done, my lord. [*Writes.*

Y. Mor. Gurney,—

Gur. My lord?

Y. Mor. As thou intend'st to rise by Mortimer,
Who now makes Fortune's wheel turn as he please,
Seek all the means thou canst to make him droop,
And neither give him kind word nor good look.

Gur. I warrant you, my lord.

Y. Mor. And this above the rest; because we hear
That Edmund casts to work his liberty,
Remove him still from place to place by night,
Till at the last he come to Killingworth,
And then from thence to Berkeley back again;
And by the way, to make him fret the more,
Speak curstly to him; and in any case
Let no man comfort him, if he chance to weep,
But amplify his grief with bitter words.

Mat. Fear not, my lord; we'll do as you command.

Y. Mor. So now away! post thitherwards amain.

Q. Isab. Whither goes this letter? to my lord the king?
Commend me humbly to his majesty,
And tell him that I labour all in vain
To ease his grief, and work his liberty;
And bear him this as witness of my love. [*Gives a ring.*

Mat. I will, madam. [*Exit with* GURNEY.

Y. Mor. Finely dissembled! Do so still, sweet queen. Here comes the young prince, with the Earl of Kent.

Q. Isab. Something he whispers in his childish ears.

Y. Mor. If he have such access unto the prince, Our plots and stratagems will soon be dash'd.

Q. Isab. Use Edmund friendly, as if all were well.

Enter PRINCE EDWARD, *and* KENT *talking with him.*

Y. Mor. How fares my honourable lord of Kent?

Kent. In health, sweet Mortimer.—How fares your grace?

Q. Isab. Well, if my lord your brother were enlarg'd.

Kent. I hear of late he hath depos'd himself.

Q. Isab. The more my grief.

Y. Mor. And mine.

Kent. Ah, they do dissemble! [*Aside.*

Q. Isab. Sweet son, come hither; I must talk with thee.

Y. Mor. You, being his uncle and the next of blood, Do look to be protector o'er the prince.

Kent. Not I, my lord; who should protect the son, But she that gave him life? I mean the queen.

P. Edw. Mother, persuade me not to wear the crown: Let him be king; I am too young to reign.

Q. Isab. But be content, seeing 'tis his highness' pleasure.

P. Edw. Let me but see him first, and then I will.

Kent. Ay, do, sweet nephew.

Q. Isab. Brother, you know it is impossible.

P. Edw. Why, is he dead?

Q. Isab. No, God forbid!

Kent. I would those words proceeded from your heart!

Y. Mor. Inconstant Edmund, dost thou favour him, That wast a cause of his imprisonment?

Kent. The more cause have I now to make amends.

Y. Mor. [*aside to* Q. ISAB.] I tell thee, 'tis not meet that one so false
Should come about the person of a prince.—
My lord, he hath betray'd the king his brother,
And therefore trust him not.

P. Edw. But he repents, and sorrows for it now.

Q. Isab. Come, son, and go with this gentle lord and me.

P. Edw. With you I will, but not with Mortimer.

Y. Mor. Why, youngling, 'sdain'st thou so of Mortimer?
Then I will carry thee by force away.

P. Edw. Help, uncle Kent! Mortimer will wrong me.

Q. Isab. Brother Edmund, strive not; we are his friends;
Isabel is nearer than the Earl of Kent.

Kent. Sister, Edward is my charge; redeem him.

Q. Isab. Edward is my son, and I will keep him.

Kent. Mortimer shall know that he hath wrongèd me!
Hence will I haste to Killingworth Castle,
And rescue agèd Edward from his foes,
To be reveng'd on Mortimer and thee. [*Aside.*

[*Exeunt, on one side,* QUEEN ISABELLA, PRINCE EDWARD, *and the younger* MORTIMER; *on the other,* KENT.

SCENE III. *Near Killingworth Castle.*

Enter MATREVIS, GURNEY, *and* Soldiers, *with* KING EDWARD.

Mat. My lord, be not pensive; we are your friends;
Men are ordain'd to live in misery,
Therefore, come; dalliance dangereth our lives.

K. Edw. Friends, whither must unhappy Edward go?
Will hateful Mortimer appoint no rest?
Must I be vexèd like the nightly bird,
Whose sight is loathsome to all wingèd fowls?

When will the fury of his mind assuage?
When will his heart be satisfied with blood?
If mine will serve, unbowel straight this breast,
And give my heart to Isabel and him:
It is the chiefest mark they level at.

Gur. Not so, my liege; the queen hath given this charge,
To keep your grace in safety:
Your passions make your dolours to increase.

K. Edw. This usage makes my misery to increase.
But can my air of life continue long
When all my senses are annoy'd with stench?
Within a dungeon England's king is kept,
Where I am starv'd for want of sustenance;
My daily diet is heart-breaking sobs,
That almost rents the closet of my heart;
Thus lives old Edward not reliev'd by any,
And so must die, though pitied by many.
Oh, water, gentle friends, to cool my thirst,
And clear my body from foul excrements!

Mat. Here 's channel water, as our charge is given:
Sit down, for we 'll be barbers to your grace.

K. Edw. Traitors, away! what, will you murder me,
Or choke your sovereign with puddle-water?

Gur. No, but wash your face, and shave away your beard,
Lest you be known, and so be rescued.

Mat. Why strive you thus? your labour is in vain.

K. Edw. The wren may strive against the lion's strength,
But all in vain: so vainly do I strive
To seek for mercy at a tyrant's hand.

[*They wash him with puddle-water, and shave his beard away.*

Immortal powers, that knows the painful cares
That waits upon my poor distressed soul,
O level all your looks upon these daring men,
That wrongs their liege and sovereign, England's king.
O Gaveston, it is for thee that I am wrong'd,
For me, both thou and both the Spensers died!

And for your sakes a thousand wrongs I'll take.
The Spensers' ghosts, wherever they remain,
Wish well to mine; then, tush, for them I'll die.

Mat. 'Twixt theirs and yours shall be no enmity.
Come, come, away! now put the torches out:
We'll enter in by darkness to Killingworth.

Gur. How now, who comes there?

Enter KENT.

Mat. Guard the king sure: it is the Earl of Kent.

K. Edw. O, gentle brother, help to rescue me!

Mat. Keep them asunder; thrust in the king.

Kent. Soldiers, let me but talk to him one word.

Gur. Lay hands upon the earl for his assault.

Kent. Lay down your weapons, traitors! yield the king!

Mat. Edmund, yield thou thyself, or thou shalt die.

Kent. Base villains, wherefore do you gripe me thus?

Gur. Bind him and so convey him to the court.

Kent. Where is the court but here? here is the king.
And I will visit him; why stay you me?

Mat. The court is where Lord Mortimer remains;
Thither shall your honour go; and so farewell.

[*Exeunt* MATREVIS *and* GURNEY, *with* KING EDWARD.

Kent. O miserable is that commonweal,
Where lords keep courts, and kings are lock'd in prison!

First Sold. Wherefore stay we? on, sirs, to the court.

Kent. Ay, lead me whither you will, even to my death,
Seeing that my brother cannot be releas'd. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *Westminster, a room in the palace.*

Enter the younger MORTIMER.

Y. Mor. The king must die, or Mortimer goes down;
The commons now begin to pity him:
Yet he that is the cause of Edward's death,
Is sure to pay for it when his son's of age;

And therefore will I do it cunningly.
This letter written by a friend of ours,
Contains his death, yet bids them save his life; [*Reads.*
Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est,
Fear not to kill the king 'tis good he die.
But read it thus, and that's another sense;
Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est,
Kill not the king 'tis good to fear the worst.
Unpointed as it is, thus shall it go,
That, being dead, if it chance to be found,
Matrevis and the rest may bear the blame,
And we be quit that caus'd it to be done.
Within this room is lock'd the messenger
That shall convey it, and perform the rest:
And by a secret token that he bears,
Shall he be murder'd when the deed is done.—
Lightborn, come forth!

Enter LIGHTBORN.

Art thou so resolute as thou wast?

Light. What else, my lord? and far more resolute.

Y. Mor. And hast thou cast how to accomplish it?

Light. Ay, ay; and none shall know which way he died.

Y. Mor. But at his looks, Lightborn, thou wilt relent.

Light. Relent! ha, ha! I use much to relent.

Y. Mor. Well, do it bravely, and be secret.

Light. You shall not need to give instructions;
'Tis not the first time I have kill'd a man:
I learn'd in Naples how to poison flowers;
To strangle with a lawn thrust down the throat;
To pierce the windpipe with a needle's point;
Or, whilst one is asleep, to take a quill
And blow a little powder in his ears;
Or open his mouth, and pour quick-silver down.
But yet I have a braver way than these.

Y. Mor. What's that?

Light. Nay, you shall pardon me; none shall know my tricks.

Y. Mor. I care not how it is, so it be not spied.
Deliver this to Gurney and Matrevis: [*Gives letter.*
At every ten mile end thou hast a horse:
Take this [*Gives money*]: away, and never see me more!

Light. No?

Y. Mor. No; unless thou bring me news of Edward's death.

Light. That will I quickly do. Farewell, my lord. [*Exit.*

Y. Mor. The prince I rule, the queen do I command,
And with a lowly congé to the ground,
The proudest lords salute me as I pass:
I seal, I cancel, I do what I will.
Fear'd am I more than lov'd;—let me be fear'd,
And, when I frown, make all the court look pale.
I view the prince with Aristarchus' eyes,
Whose looks were as a breeching to a boy.
They thrust upon me the protectorship,
And sue to me for that that I desire.
While at the council-table, grave enough,
And not unlike a bashful puritan,
First I complain of imbecility,
Saying it is *onus quam gravissimum;*
Till, being interrupted by my friends,
Suscepi that *provinciam* as they term it;
And to conclude, I am Protector now.
Now is all sure; the queen and Mortimer
Shall rule the realm, the king; and none rules us.
Mine enemies will I plague, my friends advance;
And what I list command who dare control?
Major sum quàm cui possit fortuna nocere;
And that this be the coronation-day,
It pleaseth me, and Isabel the queen. [*Trumpets within.*
The trumpets sound, I must go take my place.

Enter KING EDWARD THE THIRD, QUEEN ISABELLA, *the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, Champion, *and* Nobles.

Archb. of Cant. Long live King Edward, by the grace of God,
King of England, and Lord of Ireland!

Cham. If any Christian, Heathen, Turk, or Jew,
Dare but affirm, that Edward's not true king,
And will avouch his saying with the sword,
I am the champion that will combat him.

Y. Mor. None comes, sound trumpets! [*Trumpets.*

K. Edw. Third. Champion, here's to thee. [*Gives purse.*

Q. Isab. Lord Mortimer, now take him to your charge.

Enter Soldiers, *with* KENT *prisoner.*

Y. Mor. What traitor have we there with blades and bills?

First Sold. Edmund, the Earl of Kent.

K. Edw. Third. What hath he done?

First Sold. 'A would have taken the king away perforce,
As we were bringing him to Killingworth.

Y. Mor. Did you attempt his rescue, Edmund? speak.

Kent. Mortimer, I did; he is our king,
And thou compell'st this prince to wear the crown.

Y. Mor. Strike off his head; he shall have martial law.

Kent. Strike off my head! base traitor, I defy thee!

K. Edw. Third. My lord, he is my uncle, and shall live.

Y. Mor. My lord, he is your enemy, and shall die.

Kent. Stay, villains!

K. Edw. Third. Sweet mother, if I cannot pardon him,
Entreat my Lord Protector for his life.

Q. Isab. Son, be content; I dare not speak a word.

K. Edw. Third. Nor I; and yet methinks I should command;
But, seeing I cannot, I'll entreat for him.—
My lord, if you will let my uncle live,
I will requite it when I come to age.

Y. Mor. 'Tis for your highness' good, and for the realm's.—
How often shall I bid you bear him hence?

Kent. Art thou king? must I die at thy command?

Y. Mor. At our command.—Once more, away with him!

Kent. Let me but stay and speak; I will not go:
Either my brother or his son is king,
And none of both them thirst for Edmund's blood:
And therefore, soldiers, whither will you hale me?

[Soldiers *hale* KENT *away, and carry him to be beheaded.*

K. Edw. Third. What safety may I look for at his hands,
If that my uncle shall be murder'd thus?

Q. Isab. Fear not, sweet boy; I'll guard thee from thy foes;
Had Edmund liv'd, he would have sought thy death.
Come, son, we'll ride a-hunting in the park.

K. Edw. Third. And shall my uncle Edmund ride with us?

Q. Isab. He is a traitor; think not on him; come.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V. *A Room in Berkeley Castle.*

Enter MATREVIS *and* GURNEY.

Mat. Gurney, I wonder the king dies not,
Being in a vault up to the knees in water,
To which the channels of the castle run,
From whence a damp continually ariseth,
That were enough to poison any man,
Much more a king, brought up so tenderly.

Gur. And so do I, Matrevis: yesternight
I open'd but the door to throw him meat,
And I was almost stifled with the savour.

Mat. He hath a body able to endure
More than we can inflict: and therefore now
Let us assail his mind another while.

Gur. Send for him out thence, and I will anger him.

Mat. But stay; who's this?

Enter LIGHTBORN.

Light. My Lord Protector greets you.

[*Gives letter.*

Gur. What's here? I know not how to construe it.

Mat. Gurney, it was left unpointed for the nonce;
Edwardum occidere nolite timere,
That's his meaning.

Light. Know you this token? I must have the king.
[*Gives token.*

Mat. Ay, stay a while; thou shalt have answer straight.—
This villain's sent to make away the king.

Gur. I thought as much.

Mat. And, when the murder's done,
See how he must be handled for his labour,—
Pereat iste! Let him have the king;
What else? Here is the keys, this is the lake;
Do as you are commanded by my lord.

Light. I know what I must do. Get you away:
Yet be not far off; I shall need your help;
See that in the next room I have a fire,
And get me a spit, and let it be red-hot.

Mat. Very well.

Gur. Need you anything besides?

Light. What else? a table and a feather-bed.

Gur. That's all?

Light. Ay, ay; so, when I call you, bring it in.

Mat. Fear not thou that.

Gur. Here is a light to go into the dungeon.
[*Gives light to* LIGHTBORN, *and then exit with* MATREVIS.

Light. So, now
Must I about this gear; ne'er was there any
So finely handled as this king shall be.—
Foh, here's a place indeed, with all my heart!

K. Edw. Who's there? what light is that? wherefore com'st thou?

Light. To comfort you, and bring you joyful news.

K. Edw. Small comfort finds poor Edward in thy looks:
Villain, I know thou com'st to murder me.

Light. To murder you, my most gracious lord!
Far is it from my heart to do you harm.
The queen sent me to see how you were us'd,
For she relents at this your misery:
And what eyes can refrain from shedding tears,
To see a king in this most piteous state?

K. Edw. Weep'st thou already? list a while to me,
And then thy heart, were it as Gurney's is,
Or as Matrevis', hewn from the Caucasus,
Yet will it melt, ere I have done my tale.
This dungeon where they keep me is the sink
Wherein the filth of all the castle falls.

Light. O villains!

K. Edw. And there, in mire and puddle, have I stood
This ten days' space; and, lest that I should sleep,
One plays continually upon a drum;
They give me bread and water, being a king;
So that, for want of sleep and sustenance,
My mind's distemper'd, and my body's numb'd,
And whether I have limbs or no I know not.
O, would my blood dropp'd out from every vein,
As doth this water from my tatter'd robes!
Tell Isabel, the queen, I look'd not thus,
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France,
And there unhors'd the Duke of Cleremont.

Light. O, speak no more, my lord! this breaks my heart.
Lie on this bed, and rest yourself a while.

K. Edw. These looks of thine can harbour nought but death;
I see my tragedy written in thy brows.
Yet stay a while; forbear thy bloody hand,
And let me see the stroke before it comes,
That even then when I shall lose my life,
My mind may be more steadfast on my God.

Light. What means your highness to mistrust me thus?

K. Edw. What mean'st thou to dissemble with me thus?

Light. These hands were never stain'd with innocent blood,
Nor shall they now be tainted with a king's.

K. Edw. Forgive my thought for having such a thought.
One jewel have I left; receive thou this: [*Giving jewel.*
Still fear I, and I know not what 's the cause,
But every joint shakes as I give it thee.
O, if thou harbour'st murder in thy heart,
Let this gift change thy mind, and save thy soul!
Know that I am a king: O, at that name
I feel a hell of grief! where is my crown?
Gone, gone! and do I remain alive?

Light. You 're overwatch'd, my lord; lie down and rest.

K. Edw. But that grief keeps me waking, I should sleep;
For not these ten days have these eye-lids clos'd.
Now, as I speak, they fall; and yet with fear
Open again. O wherefore sitt'st thou here?

Light. If you mistrust me, I 'll be gone, my lord.

K. Edw. No, no; for if thou mean'st to murder me,
Thou wilt return again; and therefore stay. [*Sleeps.*

Light. He sleeps.

K. Edw. [*waking.*] O!
Let me not die; yet stay, O, stay a while!

Light. How now, my lord?

K. Edw. Something still buzzeth in mine ears,
And tells me, if I sleep I never wake;
This fear is that which makes me tremble thus;
And therefore tell me, wherefore art thou come?

Light. To rid thee of thy life.—Matrevis, come.

Enter MATREVIS *and* GURNEY.

K. Edw. I am too weak and feeble to resist.—
Assist me, sweet God, and receive my soul!

Light. Run for the table.

K. Edw. O, spare me, or despatch me in a trice.

[MATREVIS *brings in a table.* KING EDWARD *is murdered by holding him down on the bed with the table, and stamping on it.*

Light. So, lay the table down, and stamp on it,
But not too hard, lest that you bruise his body.
Mat. I fear me that this cry will raise the town,
And therefore let us take horse and away.
Light. Tell me, sirs, was it not bravely done?
Gur. Excellent well; take this for thy reward.
[*Stabs* LIGHTBORN, *who dies.*
Come, let us cast the body in the moat,
And bear the king's to Mortimer our lord:
Away! [*Exeunt with the bodies*

SCENE VI. *Westminster, a room in the palace.*

Enter the younger MORTIMER *and* MATREVIS.

Y. Mor. Is't done, Matrevis, and the murderer dead?
Mat. Ay, my good lord; I would it were undone!
Y. Mor. Matrevis, if thou now grow'st penitent
I'll be thy ghostly father; therefore choose,
Whether thou wilt be secret in this,
Or else die by the hand of Mortimer.
Mat. Gurney, my lord, is fled, and will, I fear,
Betray us both; therefore let me fly.
Y. Mor. Fly to the savages!
Mat. I humbly thank your honour.
[*Exit*
Y. Mor. As for myself, I stand as Jove's huge tree,
And others are but shrubs compar'd to me.
All tremble at my name, and I fear none;
Let's see who dare impeach me for his death!

Enter QUEEN ISABELLA.

Q. Isab. Ah, Mortimer, the king my son hath news,
His father's dead, and we have murder'd him.
Y. Mor. What if he have? the king is yet a child.
Q. Isab. Ay, but he tears his hair, and wrings his hands,

And vows to be reveng'd upon us both.
Into the council-chamber he is gone,
To crave the aid and succour of his peers.
Ay me, see where he comes, and they with him!
Now, Mortimer, begins our tragedy.

Enter KING EDWARD THE THIRD, Lords, *and* Attendants.

First Lord. Fear not, my lord; know that you are a king.

K. Edw. Third. Villain!—

Y. Mor. Ho, now, my lord!

K. Edw. Third. Think not that I am frighted with thy words;
My father's murder'd through thy treachery;
And thou shalt die, and on his mournful hearse
Thy hateful and accursèd head shall lie,
To witness to the world, that by thy means
His kingly body was too soon interr'd.

Q. Isab. Weep not, sweet son.

K. Edw. Third. Forbid not me to weep; he was my father;
And, had you lov'd him half so well as I,
You could not beat his death thus patiently.
But you, I fear, conspir'd with Mortimer.

First Lord. Why speak you not unto my lord the king?

Y. Mor. Because I think scorn to be accus'd.
Who is the man dare say I murder'd him?

K. Edw. Third. Traitor, in me my loving father speaks,
And plainly saith, 'twas thou that murder'dst him.

Y. Mor. But hath your grace no other proof than this?

K. Edw. Third. Yes, if this be the hand of Mortimer.
[*Shewing letter.*

Y. Mor. False Gurney hath betray'd me and himself.
[*Aside to* QUEEN ISABELLA.

Q. Isab. I fear'd as much; murder cannot be hid.

Y. Mor. It is my hand; what gather you by this?

K. Edw. Third. That thither thou didst send a murderer.

Y. Mor. What murderer? bring forth the man I sent.

K. Edw. Third. Ah, Mortimer, thou know'st that he is slain;
And so shalt thou be too.—Why stays he here?
Bring him unto a hurdle, drag him forth;
Hang him, I say, and set his quarters up:
But bring his head back presently to me.

Q. Isab. For my sake, sweet son, pity Mortimer!

Y. Mor. Madam, entreat not, I will rather die,
Than sue for life unto a paltry boy.

K. Edw. Third. Hence with the traitor, with the murderer!

Y. Mor. Base Fortune, now I see that in thy wheel
There is a point, to which when men aspire
They tumble headlong down: that point I touch'd,
And, seeing there was no place to mount up higher,
Why should I grieve at my declining fall?—
Farewell, fair queen; weep not for Mortimer,
That scorns the world, and, as a traveller,
Goes to discover countries yet unknown.

K. Edw. Third. What, suffer you the traitor to delay?

[*Exit the younger* MORTIMER *with* First Lord *and some of the* Attendants.

Q. Isab. As thou receivedest thy life from me,
Spill not the blood of gentle Mortimer.

K. Edw. Third. This argues that you spilt my father's blood,
Else would you not entreat for Mortimer.

Q. Isab. I spill his blood? no.

K. Edw. Third. Ay, madam, you; for so the rumour runs.

Q. Isab. That rumour is untrue; for loving thee
Is this report rais'd on poor Isabel.

K. Edw. Third. I do not think her so unnatural.

Sec. Lord. My lord, I fear me it will prove too true.

K. Edw. Third. Mother, you are suspected for his death,

And therefore we commit you to the Tower,
Till farther trial may be made thereof.
If you be guilty, though I be your son,
Think not to find me slack or pitiful.

Q. Isab. Nay, to my death; for too long have I liv'd,
Whenas my son thinks to abridge my days.

K. Edw. Third. Away with her! her words enforce these tears,
And I shall pity her, if she speak again.

Q. Isab. Shall I not mourn for my belovèd lord?
And with the rest accompany him to his grave?

Sec. Lord. Thus, madam, 'tis the king's will you shall hence.

Q. Isab. He hath forgotten me; stay, I am his mother.

Sec. Lord. That boots not; therefore, gentle madam, go.

Q. Isab. Then come, sweet death, and rid me of this grief!

[*Exit with* Second Lord *and some of the* Attendants.

Re-enter First Lord, *with the head of the younger* MORTIMER.

First Lord. My lord, here is the head of Mortimer.

K. Edw. Third. Go fetch my father's hearse, where it shall lie;
And bring my funeral robes. [*Exeunt* Attendants.
Accursèd head,
Could I have rul'd thee then as I do now,
Thou hadst not hatch'd this monstrous treachery!—
Here comes the hearse: help me to mourn, my lords.

Re-enter Attendants, *with the hearse and funeral robes.*

Sweet father, here unto thy murder'd ghost
I offer up this wicked traitor's head;
And let these tears, distilling from mine eyes,
Be witness of my grief and innocency. [*Exeunt.*

NOTES.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

1. **King Edward II** was the son of King Edward I and Eleanor of Castile. He was born at Carnarvon in April 1284; succeeded his father in July 1307; was forced to resign his crown, and was deposed in January 1327. He was murdered at Berkeley Castle, in Gloucestershire, in September 1327. The poet has drawn the character of the King in accordance with the views of the historians of the time, and shows him thoughtless, unwise, vindictive, undignified.

2. **Prince Edward**, afterwards King Edward III, was the son of King Edward II and Isabella of France. He was born in November 1312, became King in January 1327, on the deposition of his father; having been made 'Custos' or 'Guardian' of the realm in October 1326. He died in 1377. Though in this play he is called 'Prince,' he was never created 'Prince of Wales' as his father had been, and as his son Edward was.

3. **Edmund Earl of Kent** was the son of King Edward I and his second wife, Margaret of France. Thus he was half-brother of King Edward II. He was born in 1301, and put to death by Mortimer in March 1330. He was too young to be of any importance in the early part of the reign, and the poet is not keeping strictly to history when he introduces him among the Barons in the 1st Act.

4. **Piers Gaveston** was the son of a Gascon knight, Sir Arnold Gaveston, who had 'served King Edward I in Gascony.' He was brought up as the foster-brother and playfellow of Edward II. Banished from the court and kingdom by Edward I in 1307, because of his bad influence over Prince Edward, he seems to have returned immediately after the King's death. He was made Earl of Cornwall in August 1307, and married Margaret de Clare, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and niece of the King. He was banished in May 1308; returned in July 1309, his brother-in-law supporting him; was again banished in 1311; recalled in January 1312; taken by the Barons in May, at Scarborough, and beheaded without a trial on Blakelow Hill, in June 1312.

5. **Archbishop of Canterbury.** This was Robert Winchelsey,

Archbishop from 1294 to 1313. He resisted the demands of King Edward I for a contribution from the clergy in 1296–7, and was always a stout supporter of the rights of the Church and of the people. The King laid charges against him before Pope Clement V in 1306, and he was suspended and called to Rome. He was recalled to England on the death of Edward I, and returned in April 1308. He took the side of the Ordainers in 1311, upholding the rights of the country against the King, as before. He died in May 1313.

6. **Bishop of Coventry.** Walter Langton was at this time bishop of the combined sees of Lichfield, Chester, and Coventry, appointed in 1295. He was Treasurer in 1296 under King Edward I, and the parliament of Lincoln in 1301 made charges against him and petitioned for his removal. He was suspended, but acquitted by the Pope. As chief adviser of Edward I he was a rival of Archbishop Winchelsey. As soon as Edward II began his reign, Bishop Langton was imprisoned, but he was reconciled to the King in 1311, and became minister again, and Treasurer in March 1312. He was excommunicated in April 1312 by the Archbishop, for having taken office contrary to the Ordinances. He was removed from office in March 1315.

7. **Bishop of Winchester.** John Stratford became Bishop of Winchester in June 1323. He joined the Queen in her attempt to overthrow the Despensers, and was Treasurer from November 1326 till January 1327; Chancellor, 1330–1334, and 1335–1337, and again, April to June 1340. He was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1333 to 1348. He was one of what may be called the constitutional party; not really a supporter of the Queen and Mortimer, except so far as they were putting an end to the unconstitutional power of the Despensers. He stoutly opposed the unconstitutional acts of Edward III.

8. **Warwick.** Guy Earl of Warwick was the son of William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who had married Isabella, heiress of William Mauduit, Earl of Warwick. He was a vigorous opponent of Edward II. He did not consent to the recall of Gaveston in 1309, was one of the Ordainers in 1311, and had the chief hand in putting Gaveston to death. He was included in the general pardon in October 1313, and died in 1315. His son Thomas, who succeeded him, married Catherine, daughter of the younger Roger Mortimer, and was suspected of sympathizing with the party of Lancaster in 1322.

9. **Lancaster.** Thomas Earl of Lancaster was the son of Edmund, the second son of King Henry III and titular king of Sicily, by Blanche of Artois, queen dowager of Navarre. He was the most powerful subject in the realm, and was always in opposition to the King. He was one of the Ordainers, and a determined enemy to Gaveston. He opposed the King's Scottish policy, and hence his power and impor-

tance were increased after the battle of Bannockburn. He led the attack on the Despensers in 1321. But he was defeated and taken at Boroughbridge by the King's forces under Sir Andrew Harclay, in March 1322; tried by a body of peers in his own castle of Pomfret, and beheaded. After his death his memory was reverenced as that of a good, liberal, and holy champion of the rights of the people against an unworthy king.

10. **Pembroke.** Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was the son of William de Valence created Earl of Pembroke, and grandson of Isabella widow of King John, and the Count of la Marche, her second husband. He served with credit in Scotland in the reign of Edward I. In the early years of Edward II he was on the side of the Barons, and was one of the Ordainers. After Gaveston was taken from his custody by Warwick, he supported the King, was the head of the party which opposed Lancaster, and was a member of the Council appointed in 1318. In 1321 he tried to mediate between the parties, but was believed to sympathize with those who attacked the Despensers. He died while acting for the King as envoy in France in 1324. The poet treats him merely as one of the rebellious Barons all through the play, and does not show how much nearer he drew towards the King after the death of Gaveston.

11. **Arundel.** Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, was one of the Ordainers, and at that time was on the side of the opposition to the King. Like Pembroke, he sided with the King against Lancaster in 1318 (possibly because of the private war between Lancaster and Earl Warrenne, whose daughter Arundel married). He was one of the very few supporters of the King in 1326, and was beheaded at Hereford in November 1326, by the order of Mortimer. His son married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Earl of Leicester.

12. **Leicester.** Henry Earl of Leicester and Lancaster was the younger brother of Thomas Earl of Lancaster. After his brother's death he succeeded to his rights in 1324. Like most of the nobles he joined the Queen in 1326 in her attempt to overthrow the Despensers. After the accession of Edward III he was head of the Council and Guardian of the King. He became a leader of that constitutional party which distrusted and opposed Mortimer. In 1327 he recovered his brother's earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, and Derby. He died in 1345.

13. **Berkeley.** Sir Thomas Berkeley was the son of Sir Maurice Berkeley, who had been apprehended as an adherent of the Earl of Lancaster in 1321. He had been dispossessed of his inheritance of Berkeley Castle by the younger Despenser, who in this case, as in others, had enriched himself with the estates of his opponents. The

Queen's troops took the castle and restored it to the rightful owner on her march to Bristol.

14. **Earl Mortimer** was Roger Mortimer of Chirk, second son of the Roger Mortimer who fought on the King's side at Lewes and at Evesham, during the Barons' war in the reign of Henry III. Though the poet calls him 'Earl,' he was not an Earl, but a powerful Baron on the Welsh border, and Justiciar of Wales. He opposed King Edward II in the earlier part of the reign, and rose in arms in the winter of 1321, but surrendered to the king's grace in January 1322. A sentence of death was passed on him, but was commuted to perpetual imprisonment; he was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and died there.

15. **Mortimer the younger** was Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, also a powerful Baron of the Welsh march. He was nephew of Roger Mortimer of Chirk; son of Edmund Mortimer who was killed in Wales in 1303; grandson of the Roger Mortimer of the Barons' war. With his uncle he yielded to the King in January 1322, and was imprisoned, but he escaped from the Tower in August 1324. He joined the Queen in France, and with her planned and carried out the invasion which overthrew the Despensers. He was created 1st Earl of March in 1327, and was the real ruler of England till October 1330.

16. **Old Spenser.** Hugh le Despenser was son of the Hugh le Despenser, Justiciar of England in 1260, who had supported the Barons against Henry III, and had fallen with Montfort at Evesham. He had fought in the Scottish wars of Edward I, and became a strong supporter of Edward II against the Earl of Lancaster. He was banished in 1321, but recalled by the King very soon. After Lancaster's death he and his son guided the King almost entirely, and from their violent yet inefficient policy and their greediness became intensely unpopular. He was taken and hanged at Bristol in October 1326.

17. **Young Spenser.** Hugh le Despenser the younger was the son of the elder Despenser, and shared his power and influence over the King during the years 1322-1326. He was made Chamberlain, and had much the same personal influence over the King as Gaveston had had earlier in the reign. He married Eleanor, eldest of the three daughters of the Earl of Gloucester, and niece of Edward II, and was made Earl of Gloucester. He was beheaded at Hereford in November 1326. His great grandson Thomas became Earl of Gloucester in 1398, married Constance, daughter of Edmund of York, son of Edward III, and met with the fate of his ancestor, for he was beheaded in 1400 by King Henry IV, soon after the deposition of Richard II.

18. **Baldock.** Robert of Baldock was Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, and became a prominent member of the King's government while the Despensers were in power. He was made Chancellor in August

1323, and became most unpopular. Sharing the King's flight he was taken prisoner in November 1326; and was given over into the custody of Orlton, Bishop of Hereford. He died in 1327.

19. **Beaumont.** Henry de Beaumont was the son of Lewis de Brienne, Viscount of Beaumont in Maine, and grandson of John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem and Emperor of Constantinople. He was expelled from the Council as a foreigner by the Ordainers of 1311, and again attacked by the Parliament of 1315. But he afterwards ceased to support the King, and in 1323 was arrested for his opposition to him. He joined the Queen in her attempt to overthrow the Despensers.

20. **Trussel.** Sir William Trussel was proctor of the parliament of Westminster, 1327, 'procuratour des prelatez, contez et barons et altrez gentz'; and in the name of the parliament renounced the homage and fealties which the members had made to the King, Edward II.

21. **Gurney.** Thomas Gournay was one of the murderers of Edward II. He fled from the country, and being taken at Marseilles died on his way home, murdered, it is said, by order of those who were afraid lest the details of the story of the King's death should come out.

22. **Matrevis.** Sir John Maltravers, or Mauntreveres, was the person to whose custody the King was entrusted when Sir Thomas Berkeley seemed to treat him more kindly than pleased Mortimer. After the murder he fled from the country.

23. **Sir John of Hainault** was the brother of William Count of Hainault, and uncle of Philippa, whom the young King, Edward III, soon afterwards married.

24. **Queen Isabella**, daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France, was married to King Edward II at Boulogne, January 25, 1308. She was sent by her husband to France in 1325 to arrange with her brother King Charles IV, who since his accession in 1322 had vainly summoned the king of England to do homage for Gascony and Ponthieu. There she became the centre of a plot to overthrow the Despensers. She landed with a force at Orwell, September 24, 1326. With Mortimer she ruled England till October 1330. After the fall of Mortimer she was sent to live at Castle Rising in Norfolk, and received an allowance of £3,000 a year. She died in 1357.

25. **Niece to Edward II.** Margaret de Clare, daughter of the elder Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Johanna of Acre, daughter of King Edward I. She was married to Gaveston in 1307. She is called, i. 4. 378, 'the Earl of Gloucester's heir,' but the expression is not quite accurate. At that time her brother, the younger Gilbert de Clare, was alive; and at his death in the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, she and her two sisters became co-heiresses of the lands of the earldom of Gloucester. She afterwards married Hugh of Audley. See note on i. 4. 378.

ACT I.

Scene I.

The play is not divided into Acts and Scenes in the old editions; the 'place' is not always made apparent in the play itself; and indeed seems sometimes to be changed without notice. Here it is 'London,' as is clear from line 10.

This first scene makes the audience acquainted with the character of Gaveston. It illustrates his affection for the king, 10–15; his contempt for the nobles, 18, 76, 81; and for the people, 20; his want of patriotism, 35–6; his wanton luxury, 51–71; his insolent familiarity towards the king, 6, 98.

1. Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, had been brought up as the foster-brother and playfellow of Edward II; see p. 87. He was brave and accomplished, but foolishly greedy, ambitious, ostentatious, and devoid of prudence or foresight. He had been banished by Edward I, who on the 26th February, 1307, at Lanercost, had ordered that he should leave England in three weeks from the 11th of April. The first act of Edward II was to recall him. Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 319–320.

5. *live.* Modern English would require 'to live.' The omission of 'to' before the present infinitive is a survival of the old regular idiom. When the present infinitive was inflected with an ending *-an* or *-en*, the gerund, or dative case, only took the preposition 'to'; thus infin. sing-*en*, ger. *to* sing-*enne*. Then the two forms became confused by loss of inflexions. Later English settled into the use of the old correct infinitive with auxiliaries, and the more modern idiom with 'to' with other verbs. There were, and are still, a few exceptions to this rule, as *dare, hear, see, make.* *Ought* has both constructions in Elizabethan writers; as Julius Cæsar, i. 1. 3, 'you *ought* not *walk*'; Gascoigne's Steel Glas, p. 60 (ed. Arber) 'which *ought defend*'; Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 270, 'I *ought to* know of.' Compare line 16, and i. 4. 177, and 'Or did'st thou *see* my friend *to* take his death?' iii. 2. 93. See Abbott's Shakesp. Grammar, § 349; Julius Cæsar, i. 1. 3, note (Clar. Press Edition). See note on iii. 2. 19.

6. *thy.* The use of the singular pronoun marks the easy familiarity of Gaveston—as 'Well done, Ned!' in line 98. See for the Elizabethan use of *thou, ye, you,* William of Palerne (ed. Skeat), Pref. p. xli; Abbott, §§ 231–240; Tancock, English Gram. p. 53. In lines 25–34 the men use *you* to Gaveston, he uses *thou* to the man; in line 87, Mortimer, who has used *you,* becomes excited and insolent and uses

thy; i. 4. 28, Mortimer insults Gaveston with *thou*; in i. 4. 145–169 the Queen uses *thou* to Gaveston, he *you* to her: she uses *you* to the King, he *thou* to her. See note on i. 4. 65–69. In his drama 'Queen Mary,' Mr. Tennyson has carefully copied this as well as other marks of the Elizabethan historical play (see Notes and Queries, 5 Ser. vii. p. 416), while in 'Harold' he has kept to the earlier English habit of using 'thou' always singular, and 'you' always plural.

8. *Leander*: compare

> 'By this, Leander, being near the land,
> Cast down his weary feet, and felt the sand;
> Breathless albeit he were, he rested not.'
> Hero and Leander, 2nd Sestiad.

The story is in Ovid, Her. xviii. 19, where are two epistles addressed, one by Leander to Hero, the other by Hero to Leander.

9. *So*, if, if so be, provided that. Compare i. 4. 72, ii. 2. 218, v. 2. 17; Abbott, § 133.

10. This shows that the place of this scene is 'London.'

14. *lie*. The edition of 1598 reads 'die,' which makes poor sense, even if explained as equivalent to 'swoon'; possibly it was a misprint caused by the *d* of 'dear' in the line above. The meaning of the passage is 'let me be beloved by the King and I care not who are my enemies.' Mr. Bullen retains 'die.'

15. *still*, always, constantly. Compare v. 5. 100; Merchant of Venice, i. 1. 17. Earle, Microcosmographie (ed. Arber), p. 28 (1628); and p. 37: 'His life is a perpetuall Satyre, hee is *still* girding the age's vanity'; 'He is like the Prodigall child *still* packing away, and *still* returning againe.'

> 'We wretched subjects tho' to lawful sway,
> In this weak queen some fav'rite *still* obey.'
> Pope, Essay on Man, ii. 149.

16. Why should I care for the starlight of the affection of peers or multitude, while I enjoy the sunshine of the King's countenance? *What*, 'why,' the Latin *quid*; compare ii. 1. 60.

> '*What* need we any spur but our own cause?'
> Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 123.
>
> 'Ahlas *what* should she fight?
> Fewe women win by fight.'
> Gascoigne's Complaint of Philomene, p. 97.

See Abbott, § 253.

22. *Tanti*, so much for that, so much for them. Marlowe, like Ben Jonson, is very fond of Latin quotations, and uses them even when not very appropriate, as 'Ego mihimet sum semper proximus' in the mouth of Barabas, Jew of Malta, i. 1. 187. Compare i. 4. 13, ii. 1. 54, ii. 2. 20, iv. 6. 53, v. 4. 60. In like manner Tamburlaine swears by

Jove, and Zenocrate knows well the story of Turnus, Lavinia, and Aeneas, 1 Tamburlaine, v. 2.

25. Compare King Lear, i. 4. 10–40.

32. *You*, of the two men; *thou* of each separately. See note on line 6.

34. Men who had served in the expeditions of Edward I, in days when, as the poet implies, good service was rewarded. Now, under his feeble son, good soldiers would be neglected, for Edward II did not carry out his father's policy or instructions. Discharged soldiers were a constant trouble, as bold beggars; and neglect of the soldiers and of the Scottish war was one of the charges against Gaveston; see i. 4. 405, ii. 2. 162-191. For the discharged soldiers of the poet's own day, who were perhaps in his mind, compare

> 'The Callis Cormorants from Dover roade
> Are not so chargeable as you to feed.'
>
> Histriomastix, iii. 1. 100.

Gascoigne, in the Steel Glas, p. 55, among other ills of the time, says,

> 'That *souldiours sterve*, or prech at Tiborne cross.'

38. The hospitals of the poet's time were almshouses or 'places of abiding for the finding sustentation and relief of poor, aged, maimed, needy, or impotent people.' Among the first Poor Brethren of the 'Hospital' of Charterhouse might be admitted 'soldiers maimed or impotent,' but 'no rogues or common beggars.' Many hospitals were not in good repute, and so to offer these soldiers a hospital instead of employment was insulting. Compare Henry V, ii. 1. 70:

> 'No, to the *spittle* go,
> And from the powdering tub of infamy
> Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind.'

In More's Utopia, p. 259 (ed. Roberts), the hospitals were for the sick: 'first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick, that be cured in the hospitals.'

40. The idea that the porcupine was able to cast its spines or quills is an old one, and may be found in many authors. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 35, says, 'Hystrici longiores aculei et cum intendit cutem missiles. Ora urgentium figit canum, et paulo longius jaculatur'—'The porcupine has spines longer (than the hedgehog) which it can dart when it expands its skin. It pierces the faces of the hounds as they press it, and shoots a considerable distance.' This last phrase Solinus expands into a more remarkable statement: 'Assiduis aculeorum nimbis canes vulnerat ingruentes'—'When the hounds press on it wounds them with constant clouds of spines.' Ascham, Toxophilus, p. 31 (Arber), quotes Claudian [Hystrix] to the same effect: 'Claudiane the poete sayth that nature gave example of shotying first, by the Porpentine, which doth shote his prickes, and will kille any thinge that fightes with it.' Compare Evelyn,

Diary, Oct. 4, 1658, 'a porcupine, of that kind that shoots its quills, of which see Claudian.' Claudian says in line 42 of the poem:

'Se pharetra, sese jaculo, sese utitur arcu.'

Compare Hamlet, i. 5. 19:

'And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful *porpentine*.'

Among the wonders of the isles of India 'there ben also Urchounes, als grete as wylde swyn here. We clepen hem *Poriz de Spyne*.' (Sir John Maundevile, p. 290.) Porpentine is a corruption; Porcupine is Lat. *porcus spinosus*; compare French 'porc-épic,' *porcus spicus*.

41. *plumes*, feathers. Compare 1 Henry IV, iv. 1. 97: 'All *plumed* like estridges.'

46. *entertain*, receive into my service. Compare King Lear, iii. 6. 77: 'You, sir, I *entertain* for one of my hundred.'

52. This passage is an illustration rather of the poet's own time, than of the reign of Edward II. The foreign influence and foreign manners of which jealousy was then felt were French and Provençal rather than Italian. 'The growing influence of France by affinity or example becomes at once apparent in manners, morals, language and political thought.' Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. pp. 309, 313. But Italy and Italian influence were unpopular in Marlowe's day, hence the natural anachronism; compare i. 4. 412. Shakespeare speaks in the same way, Richard II, ii. 1. 21–23. So Gascoigne, Steel Glas, p. 59:

'Al eyes beholde, with eagre deepe desire,
. . . . . .
These Enterluds, these newe Italian sportes,
And every gawde, that glads the minde of man.'

Bacon, Essay xxxvii, Of Masques, says: 'Since Princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with Elegancy.' Compare Ascham, Scholemaster, pp. 77–81, of the evils of Italian influence: he quotes a proverb, 'Englese Italianato, e un diabolo incarnato'—'The Englishman Italianated is a devil incarnate.' Lyly, Euphues, p. 314: 'So odious is that nation (Italy) to this, that the very man is no lesse hated for the name, than the country for the manners.'

61. *dance the antic hay*. *Hay*, a dance; compare Love's Labour's Lost, v. 1. 97, 134: 'The King would have me present the princess, sweet chuck, with some delightful ostentation, or show, or pageant, or *antique*, or firework.'

'I'll make one in a dance, or so; or I will play
On the tabor to the worthies, and let them *dance the hay*.'

Nares, Glossary, s.v. *haydigyes*, quotes

'Of nymphs that by them *danc'd their haydigyes*.'
Browne, Brit. Past. ii. 2. p. 41.

'Dance many a merry round, and many a *hydegy*.'
Drayton, Polyolbion, xxv. p. 1162.

The phrase was not always used literally, as the following passage shows: 'The fiery Dragon in about 3 hours hot fight drove 3 of the galleons on the sands; and then the Hosiander . . . *danced the hay* about them and so payed them, that they durst not show a man on their decks.' Narrative of Mr. Nicholas Wittington (1612) in Purchas, i. p. 482. *Antic*, antique, old; then, old-fashioned, quaint, grotesque; a grotesque figure; a quaint representation.

62. *boy*. At this time women actors had not appeared on the English stage, but all women's parts were performed by boys. Women appeared as actresses in England in 1660, when an actress played Desdemona in Killigrew's theatre; see Pepys' Diary, Jan. 3, 1661. Compare Hamlet, ii. 2. 412, where the mention of the player queen having grown, and her voice having cracked, shows that the queen is a 'boy-actress.' See 'A book of the Play,' i. ch. xvi; As You Like It (Clar. Press Ed.), note on Epilogue, 14, 15.

64. *Crownets*, a regular but unusual diminutive of *crown*, instead of the more usual *coronets*. Compare Antony and Cleopatra, iv. 12. 27, v. 2. 91:

'Whose bosom was my *crownet*.'
'In his livery
Walked crowns and *crownets*.'

67. *Actæon*. The story is from Ovid, Metam. iii. 138. There was a representation of this story on the walls of 'the temple of Dyane the chaste' in Chaucer, Knightes Tale, 1207–9 (a passage of Chaucer's own, not from the Teseide).

'Ther saugh I Atheon an hert i-maked,
For vengeaunce that he saugh Dyane al naked;
I saugh how that his houndes han him caught.'

Compare Dr. Faustus, x. 61:

'*Knight*. I' faith that 's as true as Diana turned me to a stag.
Faustus. No, Sir; but, when Actæon died, he left the horns for you.'

71. The King's tastes are well described in these lines; compare 'adhæsit scurris, cantoribus, tragoedis,' Knighton. 'Archbishop Reynolds as a young man, "in ludis theatralibus principatum tenuit, et per hoc regis favorem obtinuit."' See Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. p. 313 note.

72. *here comes*. The singular verb precedes a mixed subject, agreeing with 'the king.' See note on i. 4. 133.

74. *Thomas, Earl of Lancaster*, was son of Edmund, the second son of Henry III, by Blanche of Artois, queen dowager of Navarre; see p. 88. 'Cousin to the king, uncle to the queen, high steward of England, possessor of the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, he stood at the head of a body of vassals who, under Montfort and

the Ferrers, had long been in opposition to the crown. A strong, unscrupulous, coarse, and violent man, he was devoid of political foresight, incapable of patriotic self-sacrifice, and unable to use power when it fell into his hands.' Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. p. 322.

The Mortimers were uncle and nephew, see p. 90. Roger Mortimer the elder, 'of Chirk,' see i. 4. 358, was the second son, and Roger Mortimer the younger, 'of Wigmore,' see ii. 2. 192, was the grandson of the Roger Mortimer who had had a share in the government from the death of Henry III till Edward I came home. They ruled the northern portion of the Welsh marches almost as independent lords. See Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. p. 346; and note on ii. 3. 22.

Edmund, Earl of Kent, was the king's half brother, son of Edward I and Margaret of France, born in 1301, executed in 1330. He was a boy of six at this time, not a Baron and member of the Council as the poet represents; see p. 87.

Guy, Earl of Warwick, 'the black hound of Arderne,' Holinshed, p. 321, was son of William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who had married Isabella heiress of William Mauduit, Earl of Warwick. He was the most implacable of the enemies of Gaveston; see p. 88.

82. See note on line 1. The witnesses who were sworn to enforce the oath of the prince (Edward II) and Gaveston were 'the Earls of Lincoln and Hereford, Ralph Monthermer, and bishop Anthony Bek'; Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. p. 320. The oath was not at the king's death, but some time before, nor were the Mortimers witnesses. But Marlowe, no doubt, has adapted this from Holinshed, p. 320: 'Some write that king Edward the first upon his death-bed charged the earles of Lincolne, Warwike and Penbroke to foresee that the foresaid Peers returned not againe into England.'

83. *sworn*, disyllable. See note on line 111.

86. See note on line 6.

90. *Mort dieu*, a common French oath. In modern French the unmeaning word *morbleu* has taken its place, as *parbleu* has taken the place of *par dieu*. In like manner unmeaning forms of English oaths were commonly used, as 'zounds,' 'ods bodikins,' 'Gog's wounds,' 'marry,' 'egad.'

92. *aspiring Lancaster*. Compare 3 Henry VI, v. 6. 61.

98. He speaks with the intimacy of a foster-brother, see note on line 1, but the audience receives an impression of insolent familiarity; compare Ralph Simnell, the king's fool, to Prince Edward, in Greene, Friar Bacon, i. 26: 'I prithee, tell me, Ned, art thou in love with the keeper's daughter?'

101. *obscure*, the accent is on the first syllable; compare 'chastise,' iii. 2. 178. Gaveston, the son of a knight, was not deserving of such

sneers at his origin, i. 4. 29; but they mark the feeling of the haughty barons of old family against 'upstart unthrifts.' Compare Richard II, ii. 1. 241, ii. 3. 122, 139, of the favourites Bushy, Bagot, and Green.

102. *Four earldoms.* See note on line 74. His father, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, had received the earldoms of Leicester and Derby with the estates of the De Montfort and Ferrers families. Thomas had inherited these, and by his marriage with Alice, daughter and heiress of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury, he gained those earldoms on the death of his father-in-law in 1311. He had at this time three, not five, earldoms. Compare 'Be succession and heritage he cam to possession of V erldames; Lancaster, Leyceter, and Ferreris; than, aftir decese of Herry Lacy, erl of Lincolnne and Salisbury; be mariage of his doutir, he entered into tho to erldames'; Capgrave, Chronicle, p. 177: compare i. 3. 2. Holinshed, p. 331, speaks of his 'five earldoms' at the time of his death. Stow, p. 331: 'Thomas who had maryed the daughter of Henry late Earle of Lancaster (sic) helde in hys handes the Earledomes of Lancaster, Lincolne, Salisbury, Leycester, Ferrars.'

108. *to the proof*, to the point, so as to prove what I assert.

110. Probably an invention of the poet, like the episode in Richard II, ii. 3. 99–102:

> 'Were I but now the lord of such hot youth
> As when brave Gaunt, thy father, and myself
> Rescued the Black Prince, that young Mars of men,
> From forth the ranks of many thousand French.'

And it is possibly an echo of the real quarrel between Hereford and Mowbray in the reign of Richard II. The Mowbray of the reign of Edward I was Roger Mowbray, who died in 1298. His son, John Mowbray, married Aliva de Braose, heiress of the Lord William de Braose (Lord Bruse of iii. 2. 53), and quarrelled with the younger Despenser in 1320. He joined Lancaster, was taken at Boroughbridge, and hanged at York, 1322.

111. *Braved*, scorned, insulted. Compare Julius Cæsar, iv. 3. 95:

> 'Hated by one he loves; *braved* by his brother.'

Taming of the Shrew, iv. 3. 124: 'Face not me; thou hast *braved* many men; *brave* not me; I will neither be faced nor *braved*.' So *brave* as a substantive, iii. 2. 13; iii. 3. 40; and Greene, Friar Bacon, x. 83:

> 'Serlsby, I scorn to brook thy country *braves*';

i. e. thy rustic boastings.

Ib. Mowbray. This is to be scanned as a word of three syllables, as if Mōubĕrȳ. The spellings Mowbray, Mowbrai, Moubraie, Mounbray are most common in the historians. A short vowel-sound making an extra syllable is often attached to a liquid *l* or *r* when it follows another

consonant. At times it is the remnant of a real syllable once existing, as England Englĕland; so chāpĕlain, line 195, swōrĕn, line 85, mūshĕroom, i. 4. 284. It is however sometimes an insertion, as sēĕrēt, v. 6. 5, nōbĕlēr; see Abbott, § 477. On the other hand, a short vowel before *l* is sometimes elided, as 'Ercles' for Hercules, 'parlous' for perilous, 'ridic'lous' for ridiculous, 'eas'ly' for 'easily.' So we find 'deliv'rance,' 'diff'rence,' 'ev'ry.' In 'through,' 'throughout,' 'thorough,' 'thoroughly,' both pronunciations have been preserved, as in 'sprite' and 'spirit,' with a difference of meaning not marked in earlier time. With this may be compared the insertion of a short *e* sound before the final *r* of a monosyllable, making it a disyllable, as sōrĕ, iv. 6. 34. 'Fire,' 'your,' 'four,' 'hour,' 'more,' 'fear,' 'dear,' are found as disyllables in Shakespeare. In Tusser, Husbandrie (1573), such words are spelt 'fier,' 'faier,' 'aier,' 'suer.' Not unlike is the change of 'scur' into 'shōwĕr,' 'bur' into 'bōwĕr,' 'tour' into 'tōwĕr'; and the use of the two forms 'flour' and 'flower'—most of these and the like words being one or two syllables at pleasure in the poets. See Guest, History of English Rhythms, i. 39–65.

113. *should*, would certainly. So *shall* in Elizabethan writers is often 'will surely.' See Abbott, § 315.

122. *nor I will not.* This double negative is a good old English idiom; the second negative strengthened the negation, though logically two negatives in one statement cancel each other and make the statement affirmative. The idiom is common in Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, but now is provincial only. The Latinized grammar of the seventeenth century banished it. Compare Richard II, ii. 1. 3:

> 'Vex not yourself, nor strive not with your breath.'

See Abbott, § 406.

125. *brain-sick king.* Compare 'Clymene's *brainsick* son,' 2 Tamburlaine, v. 3. 233; and 2 Henry VI, v. 1. 163:

> 'Thou mad misleader of thy *brain-sick* son.'

Macbeth, ii. 2. 45:

> 'You do unbend your noble strength, to think
> So *brainsickly* of things.'

Ralph Roister Doister, iv. 5: 'And what a *brainsicke* foole Ralph Roister Doister is.' Ascham, Scholemaster, p. 33 (Arber): 'Quicke wittes also be, in most part of all their doinges, over quicke, hastie, rashe, headie, and *brainsicke*. These two last words, Headie, and Brainsicke, be fitte and proper wordes, rising naturallie of the matter, and tearmed aptlie by the condition, of over moch quickenes of witte.'

127. *Wiltshire.* This line would seem to imply that Mortimer had some special interest or influence in Wiltshire, but it was not so; neither of the Mortimers was ever Earl of Wiltshire.

128. *love*. Dyce conjectured 'leave,' and 'Lancaster,' in line 129, without need. He takes the statements as serious. But if 'love' is read, and 'Gaveston,' as in the quartos, there is a bitter irony in the speeches of the Earls which is far more effective than the tame speeches produced by the alterations.

132. See note on line 5.

133. *base minion*. See note on line 101. *Minion*, darling; French *mignon*; used in a good sense in Macbeth, i. 2. 19, 'valour's *minion*'; and ii. 4. 15:

'And Duncan's horses—a thing most strange and certain,
Beauteous and swift, the *minions* of their race.'

But the word gradually took an unfavourable sense, just as 'favourite.'

134. *brook*, put up with, endure. Old English *brucan*, to enjoy, as 'To *brukenn* heffness blisse,' Ormulum, 3262. This older sense is in Chaucer, Nonne Prestes Tale, 479:

'So mot I *brouke* wel myn eyen twaye,
Save you, I herde nevere man so synge.'

And probably in Richard II, iii. 2. 2:

'How *brooks* your grace the air,
After your late tossing on the breaking seas?'

137. *bandy*, exchange blows, fight. Fr. *bander*. The expression is taken from the game of tennis, which was very popular in England in Elizabethan times. The game was introduced from France, and many of the terms used in it were French, as 'The one takes the ball before the bound, a la volee,' 'haut volee.' Compare 1 Henry VI, iv. 1. 190:

'This factious *bandying* of their favourites.'

King Lear, i. 4. 82:

'Do you *bandy* looks with me, you rascal?'

The word is now seldom used except in the phrase 'to bandy words,' as in King Lear, ii. 4. 171, 'To *bandy* hasty words.'

142. The King uses 'thou' and 'thee' familiarly to Gaveston, who uses 'you,' line 171, in reply. See note on line 6.

144. *Hylas*, a companion of Hercules during the Argonautic expedition, carried off by the nymphs, and mourned by Hercules, who could not find him. The poet probably took the allusion from Propertius, i. 20. Compare i. 4. 392.

154. This is one of the passages in which Marlowe is distinctly following Holinshed; see Introd. p. xvii. Holinshed, p. 318, has: 'For having revoked again into England his old mate the said Peers de Gaveston he received him into most high favour creating him Earle of Cornewall, and lord of Man, his principall secretarie and lord chamberlaine of the realme.' The earldom of Cornwall had been held by some member of the royal family from the reign of William I. 'Within

a month of his accession, four days after Edward had got possession of the great seal, on August 6, 1307, Gaveston received the grant of the earldom of Cornwall.' Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. p. 320. John of Eltham, second son of Edward II, was made Earl of Cornwall in October 1328. The Isle of Man was in the possession of the Scottish king from A.D. 1266 to 1290: from 1290 to 1313 it was under England. Gaveston did not get any benefit from this honour. Holinshed adds, 'the year next insuing the Ile of Man was taken by Robert Bruce.' In 1314 it was again taken from the Scots by Montacute, who was afterwards Earl of Salisbury. The Lords of Man had some sovereign rights in the island but did not bear the title of king; though the Chronicon Angliae, sub anno 1344, speaks of William 'de Monte acuto' as 'rex Manniae.' The poet brings in an idea which belongs more properly to the later time of the Stanleys, lords of Man.

164. *but*, only, for no other reason than. The old English, *bútan be-útan*, 'by out,' was a preposition, as is seen in the phrases, 'búton burgum,' 'out of towns,' 'búton synnum,' 'without sins,' and also in 'he took nothing *but* the head,' 'twenty *but* one,' as we still say 'all *but* one.' It was also a conjunction in negative or adversative conditional clauses, as, '*but* a man be born again, he shall not see the kingdom of God.' The use as a local preposition 'out of' is lost, so is the meaning 'without'; and the word has become more like a conjunction in all its uses, as, 'who *but* I can seal the lips of those below,' The Caxtons, 15. 1. In passages such as the present, the force of the second part of the word, 'out,' is strongly marked as in older uses, as if, 'outside of to honour thee,' 'except to honour thee,' and the negative being omitted, it passes into the meaning of 'only,' 'for no other reason except.' Compare i. 2. 68. See Abbott, §§ 118–128.

165. *regiment*, government, rule; the modern form is *regimen*, with a different sense. Compare 1 Tamburlaine, i. 1. 117:

'Now sit and laugh our *regiment* to scorn.'

And John Knox's famous book, 'The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous *regiment* of women,' to show 'how abominable before God, is the Empire or Rule of a wicked woman.' So also 'the *regiment* of health,' Earle, Microcosmographie, p. 25. Holinshed, p. 343, has 'Neverthelesse although they had taken the *regiment* upon them, yet could they not foresee the tumults and uprores.'

167. Hemingburgh, ii. 373, mentions the seizure by Gaveston of £50,000, at the New Temple, belonging to Langton, and says that Edward gave him £100,000 of his father's treasure; Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 321. One of the complaints of the barons was 'how the Kynges treasoure, by meane of the sayd Piers, was wasted'; Fabyan, p. 418. Compare i. 4. 404.

170. *What so.* This form, and *whom-so*, have entirely given place to *whatsoever, whomsoever.* See Tancock, Gram. p. 56. Mr. W. Morris has revived *what-so*, Virgil, Aeneids, i. 83, ii. 49, iii. 601 :

'By *what-so* door the winds rush out o'er earth in whirling blast.'

And *where-so*, Aen. v. 83.

172. This phrase is a Latinism, a rendering of *quod quum*, and is not now used.

173. *Cæsar.* The Elizabethan poets are very full of allusions to Cæsar; several plays on his life and death were written. Compare The Massacre at Paris, i. 2. 99 :

'As Cæsar to his soldiers, so say I;
Those that hate me will I learn to loathe.'

And see Julius Cæsar (Clar. Press edition), Preface, p. viii.

175. *Bishop of Coventry.* See p. 88. Holinshed, p. 318, calls him 'Walter de Langton bishop of Coventrie and Lichfield'; the margin of the same page has 'The bishop of Coventrie committed to prison.' Fabyan, p. 418, calls him 'The bysshope of Chester, maister Walter Lāton.' Stow, Chronicle, pp. 325 and 330, has 'bishoppe of Chester.' His bishopric was made of the combined sees of Lichfield, Chester, and Coventry, and the names are used variously by the different older historians; modern historians usually speak of the 'bishop of Lichfield.' The Mercian bishopric, founded A.D. 656, was placed at Lichfield 669, moved to Chester 1075, to Coventry circa 1086. Compare 'Habet autem episcopatus ille usque hodie tres sedes, Cestrensem, Lichifeldensem, et Coventrensem.' Matthew Paris, sub an. 1132. The bishopric of Chester as known to Marlowe's hearers was a new creation of King Henry VIII in 1541. See Notes and Queries, 5 Ser. x. p. 411.

176. *exequies.* This word is in Stow, p. 326, where the bishop speaks of 'doing the exequies'; it is also in Holinshed. Compare 1 Henry VI, iii. 2. 133. Fabyan, p. 417, uses 'exequy.' Edward I died at Burgh-on-Sands July 7, 1307; his body was taken to Waltham Abbey, and was not buried till October 27 of the same year, at Westminster; Holinshed, p. 318. Gaveston was in England early in August.

179. *cause of his exile.* 'The Kynge (Edward I) for complaynt that was broughte unto hym by Maister Walter Langton, bisshop of Chester, of Sir Edwarde his eldest sone, for that he with Pers of Gaveston and other insolent persones had broken the park of the sayd bysshop, and ryottously distroyed the game within it; he therfore imprysoned the sayd sir Edwarde his sone, with his complyces. And in processe of tyme . . . . banysshed the sayd Pyers of Gaveston out of Englande for ever.' Fabyan, p. 402

184. *incense*, stir up, incite. Cunningham quotes The Massacre at Paris, ii. 5. 73:

'This is the Guise that hath *incensed* the King
To levy arms, and make these civil broils';

and King Lear, ii. 4. 301:

'He is attended with a desperate train:
And what they may *incense* him to, being apt
To have his ear abused, wisdom bids fear.'

Compare Julius Cæsar, i. 3. 13:

'Or else the world, too saucy with the gods,
Incenses them to send destruction.'

187. *stole*. Probably the modern ecclesiastical garment, a narrow strip worn on the shoulders, as the Bishop seems to be vested for the funeral service, line 176. Compare Greene, Friar Bacon, xiii. 92:

'With *stole*, and alb and strong pentageron.'

Stole means robe in the phrase 'white-stoled' choir; Lat. *stola*, Greek στολή, a robe. Compare Spenser, Faery Queene, i. 3. 4:

'From her faire head her fillet she undight,
And laid her *stole* aside.'

188. *channel*, kennel, the gutter at the side of the street.

197. *shall to prison*. A verb of motion is often omitted; see line 185.

198. The Bishop was sent to the Tower of London, the usual political prison, compare Fabyan, p. 418, 'unto the toure of London, where he was streyghtly kept many dayes after.' Langton was Treasurer; he was removed from office August 22; his lands were seized September 20. The arrest was really made long before the funeral; see note on line 176. Holinshed, p. 318, does not mention the Tower, but merely says 'to prison.' The *Fleet* was not much used in Marlowe's time as a royal prison for political prisoners, but was a debtors' prison often mentioned by Elizabethan poets. Compare 2 Henry IV, v. 5. 91:

'Go, carry Sir John Falstaff to the *Fleet*.'

201. *True, true*. The reading of Dyce, Cunningham, and Wagner. Dyce however suggested *prut, prut*, as an exclamation of contempt. *Do, do*, is a variation in some editions. It is probable that the words *True, true*, are used to imply a sarcasm in the mouth of the Bishop, who, as it were, says 'True, *convey* is just the word for such a proceeding as this.' Compare the pun on 'convey' in Richard II, iv. 1. 316:

'Go, some of you *convey* him to the Tower.
O good! *convey? conveyers* are you all.'

And in Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, ii. 1: 'All the purses and purchase I give you to-day by *conveyance*, bring hither to Ursula's presently. Here we will meet at night in her lodge, and share.'

207. So ed. 1598. The later editions read:
'A prison may best beseem his holiness.'

Scene II.

6. *timeless*, untimely, premature. Compare Richard II, iv. 1. 5:
'The bloody office of his *timeless* end.'
2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 187:
'Duke Humphrey's *timeless* death.'
2 Tamburlaine, v. 3. 254:
'Let Earth and Heaven his *timeless* death deplore.'
See Dr. Faustus, xiii. 92, note by Prof. Ward, who remarks: 'Marlowe is very fond of this suffix "less"'; and quotes *topless*, *quenchless*, *expressless*, *resistless*, but curiously explains '*timeless*, i. e. of which time cannot destroy the memory,' though all Tamburlaine's speech, 2 Tamburlaine, v. 3. 117–160, shows its meaning to be 'untimely,' 'premature.'

7. *peevish*, wayward. Compare Julius Cæsar, v. 1. 61: 'a *peevish* schoolboy'; and note in Clar. Press edition.

10. *discontent*, discontented. See Abbott, § 342. In Elizabethan writers, verbs ending in *-d*, *-t*, *-te*, might at pleasure take or omit the participial ending *-ed*; see i. 1. 3; iii. 2. 171. Thus we find *lift* and *lifted; alight, alit, alighted; heat* and *heated.* In really old English verbs ending in *-t*, the tendency was to omit the ending, as *hit, cut, shred*; compare Tancock, Gram. p. 68. Many verbs derived from Latin participial forms have the same usage, as *content, contented; deject, dejected; quit, quitted.* So Milton has 'least *erected* spirit,' Paradise Lost, i. 679. The tendency in modern English is to inflect these Latin words regularly with the weak participial ending *-ed*, though our practice is not uniform. Tennyson, Queen Mary, Act ii. sc. 2, p. 77, has *corroborate* for *corroborated.* This tendency is illustrated by the use of the modern forms *hoist-ed, graft-ed, wont-ed*, as if from verbs *hoist, graft, wont*, in place of the older and more correct forms *hoist* for *hoised* from *hoise, graft* for *graffed* from *graff, wont* for *woned* from *wone*, so *interest-ed* from *interest* for *interessed* from the older verb *interess.*

15. See note on i. 1. 122.

19. *vailing of his bonnet*, lowering, i. e. taking off his hat. *Vail*, i. e. *avale*, Lat. *ad vallem*, to go down to the valley, as *mount, amount*, Lat. *ad montem*, to go up to the mountain. Compare 'And often it hathe befallen, that sume of the Iewes han gon up the mountaynes, and *avaled* down to the Valeyes.' Sir John Maundevile, p. 266. 'Many of the puple in the strete turned her bakkes, and *avaled* not their hodes, ne ded no manner reverens.' Capgrave, Chronicle, p. 288. And compare i. 4

276; Jew of Malta, ii. 2. 11: 'Because we *vailed* not to the Turkish fleet.' Hero and Leander, Sest. i:

'Then Hero, sacrificing turtles' blood,
Vailed to the ground, veiling her eyelids close.'

Merchant of Venice, i. 1. 28:

'*Vailing* her high-top lower than her ribs.'

Euphues (ed. Arber), p. 117: 'Stande thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will *vayle bonnet*.'

of. 'Vailing' has here the construction of a verbal substantive, compare i. 4. 270, 'For *purging of* the realm'; Dr. Faustus, xiv. 79, 'for *naming of* my Christ.' The construction with 'of' is even used when, by omission of the preposition before the verbal substantive, the word looks like a participle, as i. 4. 188, 'sits *wringing of* her hands'; Dr. Faustus, vii. 79, 'are you *crossing of* yourself.' The idiom remains in the Dorset dialect: Barnes's Poems, p. 79,

'As I wer *readèn ov a stwone*
In Grenley churchyard all alwone.'

See Tancock, Gram. p. 72; Abbott, § 178.

bonnet was worn by men as well as women. Compare Merchant of Venice, i. 2. 68: 'his *bonnet* in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere.' And Richard II, i. 4. 31: 'Off goes his *bonnet* to an oyster-wench.'

20. See note on i. 4. 133.

25. *take exceptions*, object to, make objection to. Compare the legal phrases 'tender exceptions,' 'a bill of exceptions'; and ii. 1. 47:

'Mine old lord while he lived was so precise,
That he would *take exceptions* at my buttons.'

Earle, *Microcosmographie*, p. 37: 'if hee be overscene, 'tis within his owne liberties, and no man ought to *take exceptions*.'

26. *stomach*, are angry at him. Cunningham quotes from Bishop Hall, 'Saul *stomached* David, and therefore hated him.' *Stomach*, as a substantive, meant 'anger,' as στόμαχος in Greek; hence, as a verb, 'to feel anger.' Compare 'What one amongst them commonly doth not *stomach* at such contradiction, storm at reproof, and hate such as would reform them?' Hooker, Eccl. Pol. i. x. 7. It also meant 'pride,' as in 2 Henry IV, i. 1. 129:

'And that furious Scot
. . . . .
Gan vail his *stomach*.'

In Julius Cæsar, v. 1. 66, the word is used in the modern sense of 'appetite':

'If you dare fight to-day, come to the field;
If not, when you have *stomachs*.'

27. *bewrays*, shows, betrays; so line 34. This, a common word in

Marlowe, is the old English form. But it was expelled by the hybrid *betray*, from Old Fr. *traïr*; see Earle's Philology, p. 82. Compare Matthew, xxvi. 73, 'thy speech *bewrayeth* thee' (from Tyndale's version). The simple verb *wray*, 'to accuse,' is found in the Anglo-Saxon St. Mark, xv. 3; and lingered till Elizabethan times, as in Gascoigne, Steel Glas, pp. 49, 52:

'Whom lovers love, bicause she plaines their greves
She *wraies* their woes, and yet relieves their payne.'
'Least I should *wraye* this bloudy deed of his.'

29. *hale*, drag, a variation of *haul*. Compare ii. 2. 91; Acts viii. 3: 'And *haling* men and women committed them to prison.' And Tennyson, Queen Mary, iv. 3, p. 209:

'Ay, stop the heretic's mouth. *Hale* him away.'

33. The Archbishop was Robert Winchelsey, 1294–1313; see p. 88. He had resisted the overbearing demands of Edward I, and had been out of the kingdom at the end of the last reign. See note on i. 4. 51. He was an eminent scholar and divine, a great statesman, and a strong upholder of the rights of the people and of the Church.

37. *asseiz'd*, taken possession of; the proper law term of feudal times was 'seized,' Lat. *seisire*; 'asseized' is an incorrect form, used probably for the sake of metre.

44. *near*, nearly.

47. *Unto the forest.* Dyce says these words 'would imply that the scene was at Windsor,' where there was a forest. But this is quite unnecessary, the scene was in London, as line 78 shows, in which the Archbishop entreats all 'to cross to Lambeth.' The phrase simply means 'out into the wilds,' 'into the desert,' 'away from the world.' Compare As You Like It, i. 1. 105. 'The forest,' was the natural refuge of all who were in trouble or discontented. It is possible that the poet had in mind the story of Queen Margaret after the battle of Hexham.

53. *as who should say*, as one who would say, as if one would say. The Elizabethan writers treated this phrase as if it were an instance of the relative used without an antecedent. See Tancock, Gram. p. 57; compare Richard II, v. 4. 8:

'And speaking it, he wistly looked on me,
As who should say, I would thou wert the man.'

See Abbott, § 257. The real explanation of the phrase is that in Early English 'who' (*hwa*) was not a relative (till the 13th century), but an interrogative, and an indefinite pronoun; and this phrase is an instance of its indefinite use: compare Anglo-Saxon, St. Matt. xxi. 3, 'And gyf *hwa* eow ænig þinge tó cwyð'—'And if *who* (any) to you anything saith'; St. Mark xii. 19, 'Gif *hwæs* broðor dead bið'—'If

whose (any man's) brother die'; Ibid. iv. 23, 'Gehyre if *hwa* earan hæbbe'—'Hear if *any* have ears.' The phrase is still used by poets; as Coleridge, Ancient Mariner:

'*As who* pursued with yell and blow.'

Tennyson, Princess, p. 95:

'She whirled them on to me, *as who should say*
"Read," and I read.'

54. *whither*, a monosyllable, as 'where.' See Abbott, § 466. So 'seeing.'

63. *still*, for ever. See note on i. 1. 15.

65. *mutinies*, tumults. Compare Julius Cæsar, iii. 2. 120, 228, 229:

'that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and *mutiny*.'

And Greene, Friar Bacon, vii. 32: 'The town is up in a *mutiny*.'

68. See note on i. 1. 164.

75. *the New Temple*. The Barons met at the New Temple in London, Holinshed, p. 319, and drew up the ordinance of exile on May 18. So Convocation met at the New Temple on August 10, 1298, and money collected for the king in 1232 was to be taken care of 'Donec ad mandatum nostrum deferatur usque ad Novum Templum Londiniis.' Maitland, Hist. of London, vol. ii. pp. 967-8, says of the New Temple, in 'Farringdon Ward without': 'The Temple or New Temple is so called because the Templers before building of this House had their Temple in Oldbourne. This House was founded by the Knights Templars in England in the reign of Henry II . . . dedicated in 1185 . . . Many noblemen became brethren . . . and built themselves Temples in every city . . . In England this was the chief house, which they built after the Form of the Temple near to the Sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem . . . This Temple in London was often made a storehouse of men's treasure, such as feared the spoil thereof in other places . . . Many Parliaments and great Councils have been there kept. Edward II in 1313 gave to Aimer de la Valence the New Temple. After Aymer de la Valence [died 1324] some say that Hugh Spenser the younger usurping the same held it during his life.'

78. *Lambeth*, i. e. to the Archbishop's Manor. Lambeth, on the river, came into the possession of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1197, and remained in the possession of the Archbishops. It was almost ruined in the wars of the Roses, but restored by Cardinal Morton. Miss Strickland, in the life of Katharine Howard, says Lambeth was 'very much the resort of the nobles of Henry VIII's Court, a pleasant retreat, with its beautiful orchards and gardens sloping down to the banks of the Thames.' The mention of Lambeth in this passage is thus one of the little touches due to the poet's own times. It is not

from Stow or from Holinshed, though the latter often speaks of Lambeth; compare p. 280: 'The Archbishop of Canturburie held another synod at Lambeth.'

80. The first hint of affection between the Queen and Mortimer See Introd. p. xi.

Scene III.

4. *redoubted*, brave; used sarcastically. *Doubt* is often used in this sense of 'fear'; so *doubted, redoubted, redoubtable* in the sense of 'feared,' 'terrible,' then 'brave,' which is the modern meaning of the last two words.

5. *toward Lambeth.* Cunningham reads *toward London.* There is no authority for the change. Gaveston is supposed to have heard that the Barons have gone with the Archbishop, i. 2. 78–79 'toward Lambeth.' If *London* is read, Gaveston must be supposed to have learned that the Barons have returned from Lambeth to their meeting at the New Temple, i. 2. 75, which was in London. The words 'there let them remain,' would be unsuitable in this case.

Scene IV.

The scene should be placed at the New Temple (see i. 2. 75, note), where the meeting was really held. Wagner wrongly places it at Lambeth, depending on i. 2. 78, 79, not having noticed the accuracy with which the poet represents this small point, one of many which show that he knew the history of the reign well.

7. *declin'd*, turned aside. Compare line 115; and Hamlet, i. 5. 50:

> 'to *decline*
> Upon a wretch whose natural gifts were poor
> To those of mine.'

13. Dyce refers to Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii. 846:

> 'Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur,
> Majestas et amor'—

a quotation very apt, if not very natural in the mouth of Mortimer. See note on i. 1. 22.

16. *Phaeton.* The story is from Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii. 47 foll.

18. 'are' is understood—'forces *are* down.'

19. *over-peer'd*, looked down upon. Compare Merchant of Venice, i. 1. 12:

> 'Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,
> Do *overpeer* the petty traffickers.'

And 1 Henry VI, i. 4. 11:

'Wont through a secret grate of iron bars
In yonder tower to *overpeer* the city.'

28. See note on i. 1. 6. *Villain* (Fr. *vilain*, Lat. *villanus*, *villa*) meant a *villager*, a man of the *villata* or township; a ceorl or churl. The churls were reduced to serfdom or servitude by the operation of the feudal land law; hence 'a serf.' As serfs often were of low character, and had usually bad characters assigned to them by the haughty insolence of their masters, the word gradually came to mean 'a bad man,' 'a rascal.' Compare 'groom,' 'knave,' and 'varlet.' The same tendency is seen less strongly marked in the history of the words 'rustic,' 'boor,' and in the use of 'peasant,' that is 'paysan,' 'countryman,' in lines 14, 30. Compare Trench, On the Study of Words, Gloss. s. v. 'Villain.' Shakespeare uses the word 'villain' in both senses in As You Like It, i. 2. 50–55.

32. *disparage*, degrade us from our proper position. The Latin words *disparagare*, *disparagatio*, from *dispar*, 'unequal,' were technical terms of feudal time, expressing difference of social position. They are frequently used of marriage in the great feudal struggle as to the marriage of heirs who were wards of the crown. Compare Articles of the Barons, in King John's reign: 'ut haeredes ita maritentur ne *disparagentur*'—that heirs be so married as to suffer no disparagement, or loss of social rank. Compare Much Ado about Nothing, iii. 2. 114.

41. *upstart*, an adjective. Dyce reads 'upstart['s].' The phrase 'new *upstart* gentlemen' occurs in the Translation (circa 1560) of Polydore Vergil, p. 119. Compare, 'goodman goosecap, you that are come from the start ups, and therefore is called an upstart, *quasi* start up from clowted shoone.' Greene, Works, xi. 237 (Grosart).

49. *fleet*, float upon the stream. Compare Dido, iv. 4. 134:

'And let rich Carthage *fleet* upon the seas.'

And Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 108:

'How all the other passions *fleet* to air.'

The adjective *fleeting* is still used, as '*fleeting* moments,' passing away quickly.

50. Taken literally this implies a knowledge of the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope, an anachronism in the mouth of the King. The allusion is very suitable to the poet's own time, in which adventure was so popular. Spenser, Faery Queene, ii. 6. 2, 'She wandered had from one to other Ynd.' India however was known well enough to writers of sufficiently early date (as to Sir John Maundevile, 1332–1366), to make the allusion reasonable in the mouth of King Edward.

51. The Archbishop was not, strictly speaking, legate of the Pope as Wolsey was. See Introd. p. xvii. King Edward I had quarrelled with him, and accused him to the Pope, 1306, on which the Archbishop was called to Rome and suspended. Edward II soon after his accession applied for the Archbishop's restoration, December 1307. He returned to England April 1308. See note on i. 2. 33.

54. *Curse*, excommunicate. Compare the case of King John, whom no doubt the poet had in mind, in whose reign the Pope laid the kingdom under interdict, excommunicated the King, and proceeded to release the subjects from allegiance (see lines 61, 62), and to give the kingdom to Philip of France (see line 55). *Curse* is often used in this sense; compare Caxton's Reynard the Fox (Arber), p. 43: 'Sith that ye stande *a cursyd* in the censures of the chirche yf I wente wyth yow men sholde arette vilonye unto my crowne.' And Capgrave, Chronicle, p. 176: 'And thanne the bischop of Cauntyrbury Maister Robert Wynchilseye with alle his suffraganes, *cursed* alle hem that schuld lette the entent of the barones.'

55. *Depose*, an idea borrowed from the events of John's reign.

63. *It boots me not*, is of no advantage to me; compare iii. 1. 17. The substantive *boote*, advantage, remedy, occurs in Chaucer, Prologue, 424:

'Anon he yaf the syke man his *boote*.'

So *boot*-less, useless. The same root would supply the positive from which *better*, *best*, are formed by modification of the stem-vowel.

65–69. It is not easy to account for the interchange of 'thou' and 'you' in this passage. Possibly 'thou' to Lancaster is the familiarity of a cousin; 'and *thou* of Wales' may also be said to him, but it is not clear. See note on i. 1. 6.

65. *Chancellor*. The Chancellor, so called from the *cancelli*, or screen behind which he did his work as secretary, was usually an ecclesiastic. He was the King's secretary and the chief of his chaplains, and 'in a manner the secretary of state for all departments,' and the official keeper of the royal seal. At this time John Langton, Bishop of Chichester, was Chancellor, appointed 1307; he was succeeded by Bishop Walter Reynolds in July 1310. The poet appears to represent Archbishop Winchelsey as being made Chancellor, which is not historical. See note on line 51.

66. *High Admiral*. This title is from the Latin form, *Amiraldus*, of an Arabic word Amîr or Emir, chief, which came northward through the Mediterranean and the South of Europe. Admirals are spoken of by Walsingham, i. 4. 7, under the year 1294. Compare 'In 1306 . . . Gervas Alard appears as captain and admiral of the fleet of the ships of the Cinque Ports and all other ports from Dover to Cornwall; and

Edward Charles captain and admiral from the Thames to Berwick.' Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 288–89. The office was not important enough in the reign of Edward II to be held by so great a Baron as Lancaster, but by the poet's time its dignity had greatly increased.

70. *several*, separate. Fr. *sevrer*, Lat. *separare*. Compare the proposed division into three parts between the Percies, Mortimer, and Glendower, 1 Henry IV, iii. 1. 70–114.

82. *lown*, rascal. This is a vague term of abuse. So *loon*, in Macbeth, v. 3. 11, 'thou cream-faced *loon*.' Wagner quotes 'limmer *lown*' from Ben Jonson.

84. Compare Richard II, iv. 1. 200:

'*Boling*. Are you contented to resign the crown?
K. Richd. Ay, no; no, ay; for I must nothing be.'

88. Compare the story of Cranmer burning the hand that had offended in signing his recantation. Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, iv. 3, p. 221:

'And crying, in his deep voice, more than once,
"This hath offended—this unworthy hand!",
So held it till it all was burned.'

96–105. This passage is an anachronism, and is strongly marked by the strong Protestant, anti-papal, feeling of the later part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It could not have been spoken by a person of the date of Edward II. The English dislike to Rome at that date was a dislike of the usurpation of authority by the Pope over King John and King Henry III, repudiated by Edward I; a dislike of the extortion of money for the Roman Court, and of the intrusion of foreigners into English benefices. See Introd. p. viii.

97. *grooms*, servants, here used as a term of abuse, men of low station, fit for servants, who take upon themselves haughty imperious manners. Compare ii. 5. 69. The word seems to be the Icelandic *gromr*, a boy, which took the place of the Old English *guma*, a man, then a servant; as in 'bride-*groom*,' which has taken the place of the older 'bride-*gome*,' the 'bride's man.' Compare '*Bridgume* beon off Cristess brid,' Ormulum, 10422.

'Nay so God glade me! seide the *gome* thenne.'
Piers the Plowman, vi. 25.

100–1. These two lines occur again in the Massacre at Paris, sc. xxiv. 63–4.

104. *back*, support. Compare Richard III, i. 2. 236:

'And I nothing to *back* my suit at all.'

125. Compare Fabyan, p. 418: 'made hym chief ruler of that countre.' Holinshed, p. 320: 'made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there.'

127 *my picture.* Compare King Lear, ii. 1. 81 :

'Besides, *his picture*
I will send far and near, that all the kingdom
May have due note of him.'

Greene, Friar Bacon, iv. 21 :

'After that English Henry by his lords
Had sent Prince Edward's lovely counterfeit,
A present to the Castile Elinor,
The comely portrait of so brave a man.'

133. *makes.* A singular verb here follows two subjects one of which is plural. It is made to agree with the subject nearest, and so is singular, instead, as would be more usual, of agreeing with both and being plural. Compare i. 2. 20; ii. 4. 40. A slightly different idiom is illustrated by i. 1. 72, where a verb preceding agrees with one of the subjects. Such idioms are best explained as instances of a rule that 'the ear often overrides the sense' in writers of the Elizabethan period. The verb or predicate is made to agree in form with the noun next before it, as here. The same rule explains the still more irregular idioms in which a singular verb is used with a plural predicate, or *vice versâ*, as in The Jew of Malta, iv. 1. 50 :

'O holy Friars, the *burthen* of my *sins*
Lie heavy on my soul.'

Here the verb, which should in strict grammar be *lies*, to agree with *burthen*, has become *lie*, because the ear is attracted to the plural noun *sins* immediately preceding, as if that were the subject. Compare Comedy of Errors, v. 1. 69 :

The venom *clamours* of a jealous *woman*
Poisons more deadly than a mad dog's tooth.'

Julius Cæsar, v. 1. 43 :

'The *posture* of your *blows are* yet unknown.'

The irregularity is not confined to Elizabethan authors : thus we read, in the Paston Letters, ii. p. 77 : 'They told hym *wryttes* of *eleccion was* sent down'; iii. p. 338, '*we that is* wedows'; and in Professor Flint's Philosophy of History, i. p. 3, 'and that the *rationale* of their distinctive *institutions are* to be sought in their theological creeds.' Many passages in the poets are altered ('corrected') by modern editors, as line 360 of this scene,

'Whose great achievements in our foreign war
Deserves no common place nor mean reward,'

where Cunningham and Wagner print *deserve*; and v. 3. 37, 38, 40, where *knowes*, *waites*, *wrongs* of the old editions have been altered into *know*, *wait*, *wrong*, to suit modern editors' views of correct grammar. On these irregular idioms, see Tancock, Gram. p. 96 ; Abbott, §§ 333–6.

Dr. Abbott however explains many of these instances as arising 'from the Northern Early English third person plural in -s.' It is probably not wise to attribute this northern provincialism to Shakespeare, a Warwickshire man and a Londoner. And the question is not one for Shakespeare specially, but for writers of different dates and places. The explanation given in this note, which is that of Mr. W. A. Wright, Bacon's Advancement of Learning, p. 293, and of Professor Skeat, Chatterton's Works, i. p. 367, is far more satisfactory. The irregularity or attraction is not confined to the third person singular in *-s*, but is found in other persons also. Compare Chatterton, Songe to Ælla, ii. p. 117–8:

'Or where *thou* ken'st from far
. . . . .
Or seest the hatchèd steed,
. . . . .
Or fiery round the *minster glare*,
Let Bristol still be made thy care';

where the 2nd person, *glarest*, has become 3rd, *glare*, attracted because of 'minster.' In Marlowe, Dr. Faustus, xiii. 110:

'And *none* but *thou shalt* be my paramour,'

the 3rd person is attracted to the 2nd because of *thou*. In this play, iii. 3. 52 (see note), *watched* is for *watched'st*, having been attracted from the 2nd person into the 3rd because of 'Warwick,' which comes next before the verb. Such instances as this do not fall under the rule of Dr. Abbott, but the explanation which is good for them is good also for almost all instances of the third person in *s*.

136. *lord*. This is the reading of the ed. of 1598, followed by Dyce, 1850, meaning, 'a tear falls, my lord, every time I look at you.' Wagner, following Cunningham, reads 'love' for 'lord' without any need.

142. *pass*, care, am not moved, pass not from my purpose. Compare 1 Tamburlaine, i. 1. 109: 'I *pass* not for his threats.' 2 Henry VI, iv. 2. 121:

'As for these silken-coated slaves, I *pass* not.'

Friar Bacon, ii. 100:

'*Clem.* What say you to this, Master Burden? doth he touch you?
Burd. I *pass* not of his frivolous speeches.'

160. There is a likeness between this charge and the accusation which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Bolingbroke against Bushy and Green, the King's favourites, in Richard II, iii. 1. 11:

'You have in manner with your sinful hours
Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him.'

In that case an invention of the poet, not a statement of true history, as the young queen was then only nine years old.

168. *repealed*, recalled. Compare Richard II, ii. 2. 49:

'The banished Bolingbroke *repeals* himself.'

Julius Cæsar, iii. 1. 54:

'Desiring thee that Publius Cimber may
Have an immediate freedom of *repeal*.'

172. Compare Ovid, Metamorphoses, xiv.

177. *to abandon*. See note on i. 1. 5.

180. For the story of Ganymede, son of Tros, carried off by Jupiter to be his cupbearer in place of Hebe, see Ovid, Metamorphoses, x. 155–161; Virgil, Aeneid, v. 250–258. Compare As You Like It, i. 3. 121; Drayton, Polyolbion, xvii. 192:

'This Edward, First of ours, a Second then ensues;
Who both his name and birth, by looseness did abuse;
Fair Ganymeds and fools who raised to princely places.'

184. *a means*. The Elizabethan writers used *a mean* or *a means*; compare Julius Cæsar, iii. 1. 161, 'no *mean* of death'; 3 Henry VI, iii. 3. 39, '*a means* to break it off.' Though *mean* was the proper singular, *means*, like 'news,' 'tidings,' 'pains,' was coming to be the more usual form for both numbers. The older form has been revived by Sir H. Taylor, St. Clement's Eve, i. 1:

'More Christian blood should by his *mean* be shed
Than e'er by Bajazet with all his hosts.'

188. See note on i. 2. 19.

190. The ed. 1598 had 'injuries.'

191. '*long of*, on account of. This idiom is now found only in vulgar or provincial English, though *along with* is used. *Along* (endlang) in older English was used with a genitive case, which may account for this idiom. Mätzner, English Grammar, ii. 238, compares the old adverb *gelang* used with *on*. Compare Ormulum, 13376:

'All Chrisstene follkess hald iss *lang o* Christess helpe.'

1 Henry VI, iv. 3. 33:

'All '*long of* this vile traitor Somerset.'

211. *tender'st me*, carest for, esteemest, regardest. Compare Hamlet, i. 3. 107: '*Tender* yourself more dearly.' And Euphues (Arber), p. 81: 'But as either thou *tenderest* mine honour or thine owne safetie, use such secrecie in this matter, that my father haue no inckling heereoff.'

223. *torpedo*, a fish of the skate or ray kind, having electric power. Compare Pliny, Natural History, ix. 42: 'Novit torpedo vim suam, ipsa non torpens, mersaque in limo se occultat piscium qui securi supernatantes obtorpuere corripiens' — rendered by Holland, 'The very crampe-fish, *tarped*, knoweth her owne force and power, and being herselfe not benummed is able to astonish others.' Compare Fr.

torpille, from Lat. *torpere*, to be numb; *torpedo*, numbness. Richardson quotes—

'Like one whom a *torpedo* stupefies.'
Drummond, Sonnet 53.

The South American electric eel has a power of the same kind. A curious forecast of the modern 'torpedo' is found in Ben Jonson's The Staple of News, iii. 1:

'They write here, one Cornelius-son
Hath made the Hollanders an invisible eel
To swim the haven at Dunkirk, and sink all
The shipping there.'

243. *behoof*, advantage, good; so the verb 'it behoves,' it is for a person's advantage.

248. *respect*, regard for the particular circumstances, or for the difference of circumstances. So in the next line Lancaster says, no particular circumstances can alter the logical rule that 'contraries cannot be true': 'Contrariae non possunt esse simul verae.'

250. *good my lord*. The possessive is considered as attached to the noun, as in *madam*, and the adjective is like an epithet of a compound noun. Compare 1 Kings xviii. 7, 'Art thou *that my lord* Elijah?' See Abbott, § 13. We may compare the French use of *bon monsieur*.

255. *sophister*. *Sophist* would be used in modern English. There is a tendency, seen in all times of English since the 12th century, to mark the male personal ending *-er* clearly. Thus the old ending *-a*, cum*a*, hunt*a*, gave place to com*er*, hunt*er*. Foreign words which were already marked by personal endings, often had this English ending added, as Chaucer's words 'pardonyst*er*,' 'divinist*re*'; so 'chorist*er*,' 'augur*er*' (Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 200); 'justic*er*' (King Lear, iii. 6. 21); compare 'justic*e*' and 'justic*er*' (Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, iv. 1); so 'druggist*er*' is used as an Eastern-county provincialism. The same tendency is seen in the formation of the words 'uphold-ster-*er*,' 'roister-*er*.' Gascoigne, Steel Glas, pp. 55, 80, has 'That *roysters* brag.' 'When *upholsters* sel fethers without dust.' Drayton, Polyolbion iii. 419, has 'a neighbour-*er* to her land.' Compare 2 Henry VI, 1. 191:

'A subtle traitor needs no *sophister*.'

259–60. *such . . . As*. Modern English would use 'that' instead of 'as'; for an effect or consequence is not now expressed by 'as' unless the verb is in the infinitive mood. See note on ii. 4. 52.

265. *suborn'd*, instigated, secretly urged. Fr. *suborner*, Lat. *subornare*, to instigate. So in Latin, 'Macedonas tres ad caedem regis *subornat*,' Livy xlii. 15.

266. *poniard*, a dagger; also spelt *poinard*. Fr. *poignard*, Sp.

poynado: see Nares' Glossary. The word is derived from Ital. *pugnale*, Lat. *pugio*, *pugnus*, the fist; so 'a small hand-sword.'

269. *in the Chronicle*, in history. *Chronicle* was the usual name for a history, as Fabyan's Chronicle. Compare Ben Jonson, A Tale of a Tub, i. 2. 39:

'Charity! I ne'er read o' him,
In the old Fabian's chronicles.'

272. *how chance*, how does it chance, how happens it that; an elliptical phrase. Compare Jew of Malta, i. 1. 88:

'*How chance* you came not with those other ships
That sailed by Egypt?'

Chapman, Cæsar and Pompey, ii. 1. 27:

'*How chance* I cannot live then?'

King Lear, ii. 4. 60; see Abbott, § 37.

276. See note on i. 2. 19.

279. *colour*, pretext, excuse; so 'colourable pretence.' Compare Jew of Malta, ii. 2. 180: 'It may be, under *colour* of shaving, thou'lt cut my throat for my goods.' And Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 29.

284. *mushroom*, Fr. *mousseron*, *mousse*, moss. The word is here to be pronounced mushĕroom, of three syllables, as in French. See note on i. 1. 111; compare Tempest, v. 1. 38:

'and you whose pastime
Is to make midnight *mushrooms*.'

The same comparison is made in Sir A. Helps, Henry II, v. 2. 15:

'Good youth—whence grew
This sudden, *mushroom*, friendship, 'twixt my son
And thee?'

Compare Euphues, p. 62: 'I, but Euphues, hath she not heard also . . . that the greatest *mushrompe* groweth in one night.' The word is spelt 'mushrump' in the edition of 1598.

288. *buckler*, shield. The word is not now used as a verb, though 'shield' is. Compare ii. 5. 18; 2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 216:

'But that the guilt of murder *bucklers* thee.'

The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York, xi. 53:

'Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right,
Now *buckler* falshood with a pettigree?'

299. *brought . . . on his way*, accompanied. 'To bring' is now always used of carrying (or conducting) *towards* the speaker, but it was at one time used, as here, for carrying (or conducting) *away from* as well as *towards*. Compare Richard II, i. 4. 2:

'How far *brought* you high Hereford *on his way*?'

Acts xxi. 5: 'They all *brought* us on our way . . . till we were out of the city.'

311. *anvil*, a corrupted form of *anvilt, an*, 'on,' *fyllan*, 'to fell,' or 'strike': the block on which iron is hammered. (Skeat.)

312. The Cyclopes were fabled to work at forges under Aetna, and there to make thunderbolts for Jupiter. Compare Virgil, Aeneid, viii. 418–438.

315. *rose*, risen. There is a great absence of regularity in the use of past participles of Strong verbs in English. The inflection *-en* is often left out; the past participle and the past tense indicative are often interchanged; or one of these two forms is used for both. The reason is that there has been a steady tendency to allow the Strong conjugation to grow like the Weak. As this has changed some Strong verbs into Weak verbs entirely or partially, so it has also made them often drop the final inflexion *-en* of the past participle, which did not exist in Weak verbs. Thus we find *spoke, forgot, drunk, run*, for *spoken, forgotten, drunken, runnen*. Then even for verbs which had not dropped the inflexion, one form was sufficient for past tense indicative and past participle, as *writ, rose, chose*, the past tense indicative being used for both; or, *drunk, stunk, begun, swum*, the remains of the participle being used for both. This tendency of the language is to be seen in Chaucer, and in Milton, and in the English of our own day, as well as in the Elizabethan writers. But now less license is allowed, and more uniformity is required; writers would not use several forms at will, as *writ, wrote, written*, or *strake, strook, struck, strucken, striked*; as in Isaiah li. 17, 'Jerusalem which hast *drunk*; . . . thou hast *drunken* the dregs,' but would feel themselves tied down to one form. Compare *broke*, ii. 1. 25; *spoke*, iii. 3. 47.

318. *diablo*, the devil; a Spanish form.

320. *parlè*, talked, from a verb *parle*. The noun *parle* was also used. Compare 1 Tamburlaine, i. 2: 'Stay! ask a *parle* first.' The word was one syllable or two at pleasure among Elizabethan writers, who also used *parley* in the same sense.

330. *these*, his arms, as he embraces her; so *this* in the next line, his mouth, as he kisses her.

337. *wait attendance*. The usual phrase now would be 'wait in attendance'; but we still have 'to dance attendance on a person.'

344. *chiefest*. 'Chief' is a word which has a superlative force, and so does not need degrees of comparison. When thus compared it is like the double comparatives and superlatives 'more richer,' 'most best,' 'worser,' 'extremest,' so common in Elizabethan writers, so uncommon after the second half of the 17th century. See Tancock, Gram. p. 51.

345. *silver hairs*. Compare Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 144, of Cicero:

> 'O, let us have him, for his *silver hairs*
> Will purchase us a good opinion.'

346. *gaudy* (Fr. *gaudir*, Lat. *gaudere*), adorned, ornamented; compare

Chaucer, Prologue, 159, whose Prioresse had a rosary or 'a peire of bedes *gauded* al with grene'; but the word gradually came to mean over-ornamented, too gay.

353. See note on line 66.

354. *like thee not*, be not pleasing to thee, please thee not. Many verbs were used impersonally in older English which are not so used now. Verbs have tended to become personal, and the personal use to outlive and supersede other idioms. Few impersonal verbs, as *meseems*, *methinks*, remain at all; 'it pitieth' is no longer used; the verb *like*, see iii. 2. 43, 'an it *like* your grace' is now personal only—'if your grace like it.' But the verb *please* keeps both idioms, 'if it please you, and 'if you please,' in which last phrase the objective case 'you' has become the nominative and subject, since the distinction between the objective 'you' and nominative 'ye' has been lost. See Abbott, § 297.

358. *Chirke.* See note on i. 1. 74. The castle is called by Fabyan, p. 424, 'Werke.' Chirke is about five miles from Ruabon, and not far inside the Welsh border.

359. There had been no foreign war at this time, and Mortimer was not placed in command of a Scottish expedition at this time; in fact the whole episode by which the elder Mortimer disappears from the play, though natural, is unhistorical. See note on ii. 2. 113.

360. *Deserves.* This is the reading of the edition of 1598, and of Dyce, 1850. See note on line 133.

369. *Beaumont.* Henry de Beaumont was the son of Lewis de Brienne, Viscount of Beaumont in Maine, and grandson of John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem and Emperor of Constantinople. Edward gave him the Isle of Man; he was dismissed from the royal council by the Ordinances of the Ordainers, October 1311. He commanded on the Scottish border in 1316 (Holinshed, p. 323). He broke with the King in 1323, but was ambassador to France in 1324–5, fell in with the Queen's plans, and helped her. Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 330, 354, 357. He is not mentioned in Fabyan.

370. Compare 2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 407: Virgil, Aeneid, v. 606; i. 297.

373. *feast it.* *It* in such phrases is very indefinite, and is sometimes called redundant. Modern English no longer uses this idiom except in one or two instances, as 'go it.' The word is the object of the verb, an indeterminate object somewhat like the indeterminate subject *it* of impersonal verbs. Sometimes it seems almost to give the force of a frequentative. See line 407, he '*jets it*'; 404, '*riot it*'; ii. 1. 32, 'to *court it*.' Compare Greene, Friar Bacon, i. 103, 'I'll *prince it*,' where in his note Prof. Ward quotes 'to *lecture* it,' ix. 16; 'to *revel it*,' v. 117. In such a phrase as 'prince it' the use of the object shows that

'prince,' properly a noun, is here used as a verb, and this may be the origin of the idiom, which does not belong to the oldest English. See Abbott, § 226.

374. *Against*, in readiness for the time when, by the time that. Compare ii. 2. 12. As *against* is not now a preposition of time, but of space only, this conjunctival idiom has died out. Compare Auth. Vers. Gen. xliii. 25: 'And they made ready the present *against* Joseph came at noon.' For the preposition, compare Friar Bacon, ii. 30, 'Spitting the meat *'gainst* supper'; and Hamlet, i. 1. 158. Tennyson, Queen Mary, Act iii. sc. 5, p. 161:

'Never peacock *against* rain
Screamed as you did for water.'

A curious use of the Latin 'contra' in the same sense is found in Hemingburgh, ii. 119: 'Præcepit rex ut *contra* passagium suum in Flandriam . . . duo millia quarteria frumenti . . . ad portus maris ducerentur.'

378. *our cousin*, Margaret, daughter of the elder Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Johanna, daughter of King Edward I, was the *niece* of Edward II; Holinshed, p. 318. Compare ii. 2. 254. 'Cousin' is here used loosely, as often, for the relations of kings, as in Hamlet, i. 2. 64, where the King calls his nephew 'my cousin Hamlet.' Compare Euphues, p. 370: 'Well quoth Flavia to Philautus . . . while you tarry in Englande *my neece* shal be your violet. This ladyes *cousin* was named Frauncis, a fayre gentlewoman and a wise.'

378. *heir*, heiress. Compare Tempest, ii. 1. 235:

'Who's the next *heir* of Naples? Claribel.'

The Earl of Gloucester here spoken of should be the younger Gilbert de Clare, who was killed at Bannockburn, and left three sisters his heiresses; but see note on ii. 2. 236. The betrothal took place on Oct. 29, 1307, before the banishment described in the early part of this scene; Holinshed, p. 318; Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 320. But Marlowe found it related almost as he has here represented it, in Stow, p. 328, under 1309: 'The King sent for Pierce of Gavaston out of Ireland . . . the kyng mette him at the Castel of Flint with great joy; and gave to him the Earle of Gloucester's sister in marriage.' The Earl of Gloucester was not dead at the time of the marriage. The three sisters were Eleanor, who married (1) Hugh le Despenser, (2) William Lord Zouch of Mortimer; Margaret, who married (1) Piers Gaveston, (2) Hugh of Audley; Elizabeth, who married (1) John de Burgh, (2) Theobald de Verdon, (3) Roger d'Amory.

380. *That day*, objective case, expressing time. 'On that day spare he no cost whoever will be challenger.'

381. *triumph*, tournament. Compare lines 375, 349. The word is

used in this sense by Holinshed, p. 280: 'The lord Roger Mortimer kept a great feast at Killingworth with justs and triumphs of an hundred knights and as manie ladies.'

395. *Tully*, Marcus Tullius Cicero. Compare 2 Henry VI, iv. 1. 135:

'A Roman sworder and banditto slave
Murdered sweet Tully.'

405. The pay of a common soldier about this time was twopence a day. When money was scarce in the reign of Edward II some attempt was made to throw the burden on the counties and townships from which the soldiers came.

407. *Midas-like.* Midas, king of Phrygia, entertained Bacchus; in return he had given to him the power of turning everything that he touched into gold. The story is in Ovid, Metamorphoses, xi. 85–145. Compare Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 102. Gaveston, rich and showily dressed, is all-golden like Midas.

Ib. jets it. See note on line 373. Fr. *jeter*, to strut. Compare Twelfth Night, ii. 5. 28: 'Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him: how he *jets* under his advanced plumes.' Chapman, Alphonsus Emperor of Germany, Act ii:

'My nephew Edward *jets* it through the Court.'

Gascoigne, Steel Glas, p. 63:

'And yet in towne, he *jetted* every street.'

408. *outlandish*, foreign.

Ib. cullions, scoundrels. Ital. *coglione*, a fool. Compare King Lear, ii. 2. 30: 'Draw, you *cullionly* barber-monger'; and note in Clar. Press edition. See Chapman, All Fooles, ii. 1. 154.

409. *liveries*, livery. Fr. *livrée*, *livrer*; Lat. *liberare*; that which is delivered or served out. Custom, perhaps ostentation, induced the nobles to collect a crowd of followers whom they fed and clothed. Compare Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices, i. 577, with account of liveries; and Paston Letters, ii. 354 (Letter 611), in which Sir John Paston writes: 'Brother, it is so that the Kyng schall come in to Norffolk in haste . . . if I come I most do make a livere of xx^ti^ gownes, whyche I most pyke out by your advyse.' Speaking of the 'Lorde of Norfolk,' he writes: 'He schall have CC. in a lyverye blewe and tawny, and blew on the lefte syde, and bothe darke colors.' Merchant of Venice, ii. 2. 142:

'Give him a *livery*
More guarded than his fellows.'

410. *Proteus.* Compare Ovid, Metamorphoses, viii. 733; Spenser, Faery Queene, i. 2. 10.

411. *Dapper Jack.* *Dapper* is used for 'neat,' 'trim,' 'fashionable'; and *Jack* as a familiar name for 'a man,' with a touch of sarcasm,

meaning an upstart, not a gentleman; as in the proverb 'Every Jack must have his Gill.' Compare Richard III, i. 3. 51 and 72:

'Cannot a plain man live and think no harm,
But thus his simple truth must be abused
By silken, sly, insinuating Jacks.'

'Since every Jack became a gentleman,
There's many a gentle person made a Jack.'

412. See note on i. 1. 52.

416. *at such as we.* This should be in strict grammar 'laugh at such as *us*.' Such instances of irregular grammar are not unusual. They may be accounted for in various ways; here, as often, a rime tempts the poet; or the phrase seems an ellipse of 'such as *we are*'; usually the case-form which is incorrect is at a considerable distance from the word which governs it, and the breach of rule is thereby less apparent. Compare Sir H. Taylor, St. Clement's Eve, iii. 3: 'St. Mary, Sister, it is not for such as thou and I to stand in dread of these dangers.' See note on ii. 2. 136; Abbott, §§ 205–225; Notes and Queries, 5 Ser. x. 237, 291. This description of Gaveston is probably drawn from the courtiers of the poet's own day. It would seem to have been in the mind of Thomas Dekker when he was writing The Seven Deadly Sins of London, 1606. For in his description of 'Apishnesse; or the fift dayes Triumph,' he personifies 'Apishness' as Gaveston: 'Hees a . . . dapper fellow . . . as phantastically attyred as a Court Ieaster; wanton in discourse . . . the *Gaveston of the Time*.'

ACT II.

Scene I.

1. *Spenser* was Hugh le Despenser the younger. See p. 90, and note on iii. 2. 47.

2. *Glocester.* This is meant by the poet for Gilbert de Clare, who had married Johanna, or Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I, died in 1295. Compare note on i. 4. 378; ii. 2. 236; iii. 2. 53.

6. *Baldock.* Robert Baldock became Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was Chancellor in 1323. Being taken prisoner with the King he was thrown into prison and died in the next year. See p. 90.

7. *Shall,* is sure to, will certainly. See note on i. 1. 113; Abbott, § 315.

14. *preferred,* recommended.

7. *A friend of mine.* There are two explanations of this and the

like phrases. It may be taken as a compression of two distinct cases, and as equivalent to 'a friend out of the friends of me'; so 'a friend of Antony's' as 'a friend out of Antony's friends.' This, however, does not suit all instances, as 'Look at those eyes of his.' It is better to consider that a second expression of the possessive relation is made by inflexion at the end of the phrase, and then the idiom is an instance of 'duplication,' like 'double comparatives.' This best explains the early instance, 'Potiphar, an officer of *Pharaoh's*, and captain of the Guard,' Gen. xxxvii. 36 (from version 1560); but 'Potiphar an officer of *Pharaoh*,' Gen. xxxix. 1. See Tancock, Gram. p. 101.

20. *our lady*. Compare note on i. 4. 378.

25. Compare note on i. 4. 315.

31–43. This passage belongs to the poet's own day, and represents Baldock as somewhat of a Puritan in dress and manner. It may be illustrated by the character of 'A Young Rawe Preacher' in Earle, Microcosmographie, p. 22: 'He will not draw his handkercher out of his place.' 'His fashion and demure Habit gets him in with some Town-precisian . . . You shall know him by his narrow veluet cape, and serge facing, and his ruffe.' Compare Spenser, Mother Hubberd's Tale of the Ape and the Fox:

> 'Then to some Noble-man yourselfe applye,
> There thou must walke in sober gravitee,
> Fast much, pray oft, look lowly on the ground,
> And unto everie one doo curtesie meeke.'

32. Compare note on i. 4. 373.

35. *smelling to*, modern English omits the preposition.

36. *napkin*, handkerchief. Compare v. 1. 117–120; Julius Cæsar, iii. 2. 131:

> 'And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
> And dip their *napkins* in his sacred blood.'

The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, iii. 115: 'I dipt this *napkin* in the bloud.'

38. *making low legs*, making low bows. Compare Richard II, iii. 3. 175:

> 'You *make a leg*, and Bolingbroke says ay.'

In Ben Jonson, The Staple of News, i. 2, when the spendthrift pays the tradesmen's bills without examining them, the stage instruction is 'they *make legs* to him.' Earle, Microcosmographie, p. 52, 'Of the Common Singing men in a cathedral': 'Their humanity is a *legge* to the Residencer,' i.e. their only politeness is a bow to the Canon in Residence. Selden, Table Talk, p. 109 (Arber): 'At first we gave thanks for every victory as soon as ever 'twas obtained, but since we have had many now we can stay a good while. We are just like

a child, give him a Plum he *makes his Leg*; give him a second Plum, he makes another Leg; at last when his belly is full, he forgets what he ought to do: then his Nurse, or somebody else that stands by him, puts him in mind of his duty, *Where's your leg?*'

40. *an't*, an it, if it. *An* here is a corruption or a weakened form of *and*. The derivation from the old verb *unnan*, to grant, is wrong; a bad guess; the imperative of *unnan* does not occur. *And* and *an* are both found in this sense in writers from the 13th to the 18th centuries. Compare ii. 2. 125. St. Luke xii. 45 (A. V. from Tyndale): 'But *and if* that servant,' where the meaning of 'and' being not clear, 'if' was added, making a reduplicated phrase.

46. *precise*, formal, puritanical. From this was formed 'precisian,' which was equivalent to 'puritan.' Compare Drayton, Polyolbion, vi. 301:

> 'These men (for all the world) like our *Precisians* be,
> Who for some Cross or Saint they in the window see
> Will pluck down all the Church.'

48. *being*, they being; an absolute nominative. See Tancock, Gram. p. 100; Abbott, § 417.

49. *curate-like*. The statutes of monasteries and afterwards of colleges, often prescribed dark, sombre, or 'sad,' cloth for the dress of their members. And dark and sober dress was much affected by Puritans in the poet's own time. But compare Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices, i. 577: 'It does not seem that ecclesiastics . . . affected sombre colours. . . . Bloxham . . . Warden of Merton between 1375–1387 affected green, white, red, and scarlet cloth, though he was certainly in orders, having graduated as Bachelor of Divinity.' The poet is here, however, speaking of his own day and of Puritan habits.

53. *propterea quod*, because; i. e. without giving a reason for all that they say.

54. *quandoquidem*, seeing that. Compare line 2: he hints that Baldock does give his reason.

55. *to form a verb*. Wagner's note is: 'to coin a new expression to denote and veil his or his master's conduct.' Mr. Fleay says 'conjugate'; but 'verb' is 'word,' and the phrase is a rendering of 'verba formare,' cf. Quintillian, i. 12. 9, 'to pronounce aright,' and here is a cant or slang phrase meaning 'to put a thing neatly,' 'to say the right thing.'

60. Compare note on i. 1. 16.

71. *coach*. There is a slight anachronism here, for coaches had not yet been introduced. Compare 2 Tamburlaine, iv. 4. 3:

> 'And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine.'

And Hamlet, iv. 5. 55: 'Come my coach!' The coach was introduced

into England in the later part of the 16th century; the Earl of Rutland is said to have had one in 1555. They became fashionable in London and injured the watermen greatly, and they petitioned against them in 1613. Taylor, the water-poet, wrote, 1623: 'Who ever saw, but upon extraordinary occasions Sir Philip Sidney or Sir Francis Drake ride in a coach? It is in the memory of many when in the whole kingdom there was not one. It is a doubtful question whether the devil brought tobacco into England in a coach, for both appeared at the same time.' Compare Drayton, Polyolbion, xvi. 342–350:

'Before the costly coach, and silken stock came in,
Before that Indian weed so strongly was imbraced.'

74. *you*, formally and politely; *thee* in the next line, because the telling of the joyful news places him in the position of a familiar friend. See note on i. 1. 6.

76. *a coming*. *A* is the weakened form of the preposition *on* or *in*, used with the gerund, and with the verbal substantive. Compare 1 Kings vi. 7, 'and the house when it was *in building*'; St. John ii. 20, 'Forty and six years was this temple *in building*'; St. John xxi. 3, 'I go *a fishing*'; Anglo-Saxon Gospels, 'ic wylle gan *on fixað*.' See iv. 3. 42; v. 4. 113; Tancock, Gram. p. 86; Abbott, § 140.

79. *sort out*, turn out well. Fr. *sortir*. Compare Much Ado about Nothing, v. 4. 7:

'I am glad that all things *sort* so well.'

The verb is transitive in Merchant of Venice, v. 1. 132, 'But God *sort* all.'

Scene II.

The scene is laid at Tynmouth, see line 51; but in reality the King met Gaveston at Chester, July 1309. The King was in the North from January to May 1312.

3. *passionate*, full of passion, i. e. of sorrow; sorrowful. In the 'passionate shepherd,' the passion is love; in iv. 6. 55 it is compassion; in the modern use of the word the passion is anger. In the phrase, 'Thy cross and passion,' it means 'suffering.'

11. *device*, a painting on a shield, line 33. Compare Spenser, Faery Queene, i. 1. 31:

'And that deare Crosse uppon your shield *devized*.'

Longfellow, Excelsior:

'He bore mid snow and ice
A banner with a strange *device*.'

12. *against*. See note on i. 4. 374.

Ib. triumph. See note on i. 4. 381. Compare The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, xxiii. 43:

'And what now rests but that we spend the time
With stately *triumphs* and mirthfull comicke shewes.'

16. Compare the very similar passage in The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, xx. 6–9, and compare 3 Henry VI, v. 2. 11:

'Thus yeelds the Cedar to the axes edge,
Whose armes gaue shelter to the princelie eagle,
Under whose shade the ramping Lion slept,
Whose top branch ouerpeered Ioues spreading tree.'

18. *canker*, a worm. Compare Joel ii. 25: 'And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the *cankerworm*, the caterpillar, and the palmerworm.' Richard II, ii. 3. 165 and iii. 4. 47:

'By Bushy, Bagot, and their complices
The *caterpillars* of the commonwealth.'

Ib. creeps me up, for me. *Me* is here a remnant of a dative case, like the ethic dative of Latin grammar. It has gone out of use in later English except with transitive verbs. Compare Jew of Malta, ii. 2. 331:

'Even now as I came home, he slipt *me* in,
And I am sure he is with Abigail.'

Taming of the Shrew, i. 2. 8:

'Villain, I say, knock *me* here soundly,
Villain, I say, knock *me* at this gate.'

Earle, Microcosmographie, p. 28: 'He will go *you* forty miles to see a saint's well.' See Abbott, § 220.

20. *Aeque tandem*, justly at length; a hint that Gaveston, the canker, will get justice in the end, and be killed.

23. The poet is usually supposed to have referred to Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 19, who speaks of a fish called 'exocoetus,' so called 'ab eo quod in siccum somni causa exeat.' But there is no notice in Pliny that it is a 'flying fish,' though he says of a fish which he calls 'hirundo' that it flies 'similis volucri hirundini, item milvos,' which seems to have been one of the gurnards, ix. 26, 82. This description may well have come from some such book as John Hawkins' Second Voyage, 1565, republished by Hakluyt, p. 542, ed. 1589, 'There be also of sea fishes which wee sawe comming along the coast flying. Of these we sawe comming out of *Guinea*, a hundreth in a companie, which being chased by the Giltheads, otherwise called the *Bonitoes*, doe to auoyde them the better take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre . . . when they can flye no further, [they] fall into the water . . . There is a sea foule also that chaseth this flying fish as wel as the *Bonito*; for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this foule pursue to take her,' with a vague reference to the 'exocoetus'

of Pliny, which has been adopted as the scientific name of the flying-fish.

28. *undique*, on all sides death.

34. *libelling*. See note on line 173.

40. *jesses* (*gresses*, edit. 1598, by mistake), short straps round the legs of a hawk, which were fastened to the leash, or strap, round the falconer's hand. See Nares, Glossary. Compare Earle, Microcosmographie, p. 38 ('Of an upstart country knight'): 'A Hawke hee esteemes the true burthen of nobilitie, and is exceeding ambitious to seeme delighted in the sport, and have his fist gloved with his *jesses*.' Compare Othello, iii. 3. 265:

'If I do prove her haggard,
Though that her *jesses* were my dear heart-strings,
I'ld whistle her off and let her down the wind
To prey at fortune.'

The origin of the word is Fr. *gects*, *gets*, *giez*; Low Lat. *getti*, i. e. *jacti*: 'ob hoc *jacti* dicuntur, quod cum eis jaciuntur falcones, et emittuntur ad praedam.' See Mr. Way's note in the Promptorium Parvulorum.

42. *Britainy*, Britain.

46. *harpy*, an allusion to Virgil, Aeneid, iii. 212.

48. *whenas*, when; so *whereas*, where. See Abbott, § 135.

51. *Tynmouth*. Fabyan and Stow do not notice the stay at Tynmouth. Holinshed, p. 321: 'Such lords . . . came towards Newcastell, whither the King from York was remooved, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tinmouth, where the Queen laie, and understanding there that Newcastell was taken by the lords, he leaving the queene behind him, tooke shipping, and sailed from thence with his dearlie-beloved familiar the Earle of Cornewall, unto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the Castell, and rode himself to Warwike.' See note on ii. 3. 16.

53. *Danae*. Compare iii. 3. 83.

55. *outragcous*, beyond all bounds. Fr. *outrage*, *outré*; Lat. *ultra*. (The word is not compounded of 'rage.')

59. *preventeth*, anticipates; Lat. *praevenire*, to come before. Compare '*Prevent* us, O Lord, in all our doings.'

62. *painted*, i. e. with flowers. A translation of the common classical epithet, 'pictum'; as 'prata picta,' the flowery meadows.

65–68. Compare i. 1. 154. The salutations are all in scornful tone.

74. Compare i. 3. 2. The passage is intended to illustrate the scoffs which Gaveston is said to have uttered so freely; the particular wording is more exactly suitable to express the scorn of a London courtier for the country magnate of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Compare Holinshed, p. 321: He called the earle of Gloucester bastard, the

earle of Lincolne latelie deceased bursten bellie, the earle of Warwike the blacke hound of Arderne, and the earle of Lancaster churle.'

81, 82. This is the reading of Dyce, 1858, and of Wagner. The edition of 1598, followed by Dyce, 1850, and by Cunningham, reads:

'*Pem.* Here! here! King:
Convey hence Gaveston; they'll murder him.'

The words are not appropriate to Pembroke, who would not have protected Gaveston; see line 109. The King moreover is not spoken to in this abrupt way by his title, but as 'my lord.' Line 82 suits the King better, hence it is urged that the word 'king' is a name of a speaker which has come into the text by mistake. In the edition of 1598 however *Edw.* not *King* is the name used of the speaker.

88. *Dear . . . abide*, dearly shall you both pay for. The proper form of this phrase is 'to *abuy* dear,' and the form 'to *abide* dear,' is a later corruption. Compare The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, xix. 47:

'Traitorous Montague, thou and thy brother
Shall *derelie abie* this rebellious act.'

The passage is modernized in 3 Henry III, v. 1. 68:

'Thou and thy brother both shall buy this treason
Even with the dearest blood your bodies bear.'

Chaucer, Knightes Tale, 2242:

'Sende him his love, that hath it *deere abought*.'

Gower, Confessio Amantis, iii. p. 79:

'And thus Nectanabus *abought*
The sorcerie, which he wrought.'

Occleve, De Regimine Princ. 162:

'So shalt thou honge in helle and *bye it dere*.'

Spenser, Faery Queene, ii. 8. 28:

'His life for due revenge should *deare abie*.'

Marlowe used this form also in his translation of Lucan, i:

'With thy blood must thou
Aby thy conquest past.'

The verb *abuy* became obsolete, except in this one phrase, and then the word *abide* displaced it here, and as the penalty or payment was in the future, the idea 'to abide' or await it was not unsuitable. Spenser, Faery Queene, ii. 1. 20:

'Else be ye sure he *dearely shall abyde*.'

Julius Cæsar, iii. 1. 95:

'Do so; and let no man *abide* this deed,
But we the doers';

where the words 'leave us, Publius,' which precede, seem to imply that 'abide' is used in its literal sense. Mr. J. P. Collier, History of the

Stage, ii. p. 356, quotes a good instance of the change from a play called Tom Tiler and his Wife, A.D. 1578 :

> 'God's fish you knave, did you send such a slave
> To revenge your quarrel in your apparel
> Thou shalt *abye*, as dearlie as I.'

In the 2nd ed. A.D. 1661, *abye* was changed into *abide*, to be intelligible at expense of the rime.

93. Compare i. 4. 104.

102. *dealing*, treating, negotiating.

104. *protest*, swear.

109. *defy*, Fr. *défier*, Old Fr. *deffier, desfier*, Lat. *diffidare*, to renounce faith ; then as a feudal term, to cast off allegiance, *fides*. As 'defiance' or renouncing allegiance led to war, or was an act of war, to 'defy' came to mean, to challenge, to brave.

113. This is not historical. See note on i. 4. 359. The whole story of the elder Mortimer being taken prisoner, and the King's refusal to ransom him, is very like the story of the captivity of Sir Edmund Mortimer in Wales in the reign of Henry IV, who refused to ransom him or allow his ransom. Compare 1 Henry IV, i. 3. 77–92.

115. *pound*. Substantives expressing weight or measure were often, and are still sometimes, used without a plural form. Compare Stow, p. 348 : 'Whosoever coulde bring the heade of Roger Mortimer shoulde have a thousande pounde' ; but p. 341 'the value of 40,000 poundes.' 'Thrytty thousand pound,' Robert of Gloucester, i. 297 ; but the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1002, has a plural *punda*, 'xxiii. þusend *punda*,' not *pund*.

121. *Newcastle*. See note on line 51.

125. See note on ii. 1. 40.

136. *Who*, whom. *Who* should be in the objective case, as it is the object of *have*. It is easy to account for this irregularity of grammar in this way :—the 'who' is an interrogative pronoun ; interrogatives usually begin a sentence or clause ; the subject also usually comes first in a sentence or clause, and the object usually follows the verb : hence it is natural to forget that the interrogative, though grammatically the object, yet comes first by a rule of its own. In modern English when we speak we almost always make this error, but we usually write 'whom' correctly It is the less noticed because the interrogative pronouns 'what,' 'which,' and the relatives 'that,' 'what,' 'which,' and the personal pronoun 'you,' as well as all nouns, do not show in their form any distinction between the nominative and the objective. While the distinction between these two cases was gradually dying out, much irregularity was to be found, but after a time idioms became settled ; so that while 'you' might and may be used for 'thou,' or 'thee,' or 'ye,' the distinction between 'I' and 'me,' between 'we' and 'us,' between 'he' and

'him,' between 'they' and 'them,' is now as strictly maintained in good literary English as it was when the language was full of inflexions. See notes on i. 4. 416, and on ii. 4. 30. Abbott, § 274.

143. *the broad seal*; that is, a brief, or letters patent, under the Great Seal authorising a person to collect alms for a particular purpose. A brief was given by King Richard II in 1399 to collect money in England for the Emperor of Constantinople against the Turks.

144. *throughout*, a word of three syllables, 'thoroughout.' See note on i. 1. 111.

153. Compare i. 1. 50–71, ii. 2. 12; and Richard II, ii. 1. 19–23.

156. Compare Richard II, ii. 1. 246, ii. 2. 129.

158. This allusion belongs rather to the French war of the reign of Henry VI. See note on i. 1. 34. Compare The First Part of the Contention, ix. 28–32.

160. *Oneil . . . Irish kerns.* In consequence of the disturbances in England, and of the defeat of the English at Bannockburn, the Irish rose against the English Pale. Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, was invited over, landed in 1315, was supported by the O'Niells, and, with the help and consent of O'Niell of Tyrone, was crowned King in 1316. Dublin was attacked. But in 1317 Roger Mortimer beat off the Irish, and in 1318 Edward Bruce was killed in battle near Dundalk. The Irish difficulty recurred, and the O'Niells often gave trouble, so that allusions are found in many historical plays. Compare Richard II, ii. 1. 153:

'Now for our Irish wars;
We must supplant those rough rug-headed kerns.'

The First Part of the Contention between the two famous houses has a curiously parallel passage, ix. 133:

'The wilde Onele my Lords, is up in Armes,
With troupes of Irish kernes that, uncontroul'd,
Doth plant themselves within the English pale.'

The parallelism is the more curious, as Holinshed and Stow do not mention the O'Neils. In the Play of Stucley (temp. Henry VIII) the chief Irish leader is O'Neale.

Ib. kerns was the usual name for the rough, undisciplined, light-armed Irish soldiers. Compare Macbeth, i. 2. 13, 30; Play of Stucley, 832:

'Tomorrow comes O'Kane with Gallinglasse
And Teague Magennies with his lightfoot *kerne*.'

Drayton, Polyolbion, xxii. 1577–9, gives an account of Irish troops at the battle of Stoke-upon-Trent:

'the poor trouz'd Irish there
Whose mantles stood for mail, whose skins for corslets were,
And for their weapons had but Irish skaines and darts.'

161. *English pale.* This was the district on the eastern coast of Ireland, within which English settlers were supreme and English law was administered. In like manner there was an English pale round Calais while it was in English hands.

162. The difficulties with Scotland were really later in the reign; the battle of Bannockburn was fought in June 1314. From that time till 1318 the north was much exposed to Scottish raids. 'Edward tried and failed in an attempt to regain Berwick. Another furious invasion had ravaged the North of England, in which no less than eighty-four towns and villages were burned.' Bright, English Hist. i 206.

Ib. road, inroad, raid. *Road* has ceased to mean 'inroad' or 'invasion' in modern England; but the northern dialectal form 'raid' has retained the meaning, showing that such invasions were habitual in the north country longer than elsewhere. Compare Coriolanus, iii. 1. 5;

> 'Ready when time shall prompt them, *to make road*
> Upon 's again.'

1 Samuel xxvii. 10: 'Whither have ye *made a road* to-day?' Drayton, Polyolbion, xxix. 229:

> 'As when the noble Duke of Norfolke *made a road*
> To Scotland, and therein his hostile fire bestowed.'

164. *narrow seas.* The Channel between England and France, over which the English fleet was often unable to keep control. Compare 3 Henry VI, i. 1. 239:

> 'Stern Falconbridge commands *the narrow seas*.'

The Libell of Englishe Policye, A.D. 1436: 'Here beginneth the prologe of the processe of the Libell of Englishe Policye, exhortyng alle England to keep the see enviroun, and namely *the narowe see*.'

167. *a sort*, a set, a crew.

168. *Valois.* This title is used inaccurately. Isabella's three brothers, Louis X, 1314–1316; Philip V, 1316–1322; Charles IV, 1322–1328, were not of the house of Valois. Her cousin, Philip IV of Valois, came to the throne in 1328.

173. *Libels*, abusive papers. Lat. *libellus*, a little book, *liber*. The word was used to mean 'little book,' as in The Libell of Englishe Policye, A.D. 1436, a poem explaining the need of 'keeping the narrow sea.' The following note, quoted from Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 386, gives an old use of the word; 'Edward rejoined in a sort of pamphlet addressed to the bishops . . . and called [in legal form] a libellus famosus.' ['Libellus famosus' was a recognised legal term.] The rest of the letter is a tissue of violent abuse. 'The word pamphlet may be used as equivalent to *libellus*, on the authority of Richard de Bury, who was for a short time Chancellor to Edward III: "sed revera libros non

libras maluimus, codicesque plus dileximus quam florenos, ac *panfletos* exiguos phaleratis praetulimus palfridis." Philobiblon, c. 8.'

174. *Ballads and rhymes.* Compare lines 189-194. Many others of the same kind are given in Fabyan. See note on iii. 2. 12.

179. This is expanded from a slight hint. Holinshed, p. 322: 'King Edward to be revenged herof, with a mightie armie bravelie furnished, and gorgiouslie apparelled, more seemlie for a triumph than meet to incounter with the cruell enimie in the field, entred Scotland.'

180. *garisk*, showy, glaring. Compare Richard III, iv. 4. 89:

'A *garish* flag
To be the aim of every dangerous shot.'

Ascham, Scholemaster, p. 54, ed. Arber: 'And, if som Smithfield Ruffian take up . . . . som desperate hat, fond in facion, or *gaurish* in colour . . . . gotten it must be.' And p. 69: 'In huge hose, in monsterous hattes, in *gaurishe* colers.' Milton, Il Penseroso, 138:

'Hide me from day's *garish* eye.'

185. *this jig.* This song is apparently quoted almost word for word from Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 420, where it is given as an old song 'sungyn, in daunces, in carolis of the maydens and mynstrellys of Scotlande, with dyverse other whiche I ower passe.' See Introd. p. xiv. It does not occur in Holinshed, who does not borrow Fabyan's English verses, but is fond of inserting Latin verses and quotations as apt illustrations and moralisings of historical events. But in his Historie of Scotland, ii. p. 220, Holinshed gives an account of Robert Baston, a Carmelite friar who was taken by Edward II to celebrate the victory which he expected to gain. 'The Carmelite frier . . . . brought thither by King Edward to describe the victorie of the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst other, and commanded by King Robert to write contrarilie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had verse: who thereupon gathered his rustic wits togither, and made certeine rude verses beginning thus:

'De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo cum tali themate ludo.
With barren verse this rime I make,
Bewailing whilest such theame I take.'

The word *jig* is used in a different sense also; as 'a ludicrous composition in rhyme, sung, or said, by the clown, and accompanied by dancing and playing upon the pipe and tabor.' In News from Purgatory, by Tarleton, occurs, 'At last because they knew I was a boon companion, they appointed that I should sit and *play jigs* all day on my tabor to the ghosts without ceasing, which hath brought me into such use, that I now play far better than when I was alive.' Collier, History of

the Stage, iii. p. 381. In Drayton, Polyolbion, xx. 148, it is a dance:

'They lusty *Galiards* tread, some others *Jigs* and *Branles*.'

192. *Wigmore shall fly.* Wigmore Castle, my property, shall be sold Wigmore was in Hereford, on the Welsh border; in Domesday it was in the hands of Raoul or Ralph de Mortemer, who is said to have fought at Hastings in the Norman army. The castle had remained in the possession of the family.

199. *cockerels*, a duplicated diminutive of 'cock.' Compare The Tempest, ii. 1. 27:

'*Ant.* Which, of he or Adrian, for a good wager, first begins to crow?

Seb. The old cock.

Ant. The *cockerel*.'

218. *so.* See note on i. 1. 9.

232. See i. 4. 265–8.

236. *my father's servants.* This shows that Marlowe has omitted the younger Gilbert de Clare altogether, who was killed at Bannockburn, 1314; and has made the Lady Margaret heir of her father, who died in 1295. See note on i. 4. 378.

238. *What is thine arms? Is* is singular, agreeing with the sense, instead of plural to agree with the form of the word *arms*; *arms* is 'coat of arms.'

239. *gentry*, three syllables. See note on i. 1. 111.

240. 'I am a gentleman by education, not by descent or family.'

254. *the only heir.* She was really co-heiress with her two sisters. See note on i. 4. 378.

256. *stomach.* See note on i. 2. 26.

261. *Have at*, attack. Compare iv. 2. 25. In such phrases as to 'come at' a person, to 'have at,' to 'let drive at,' 'he went at him,' we find a survival of an old use of the preposition 'at' with the force of 'direction.' Compare Anglo-Saxon, St. Matt. xxv. 43, '*cómon æt* mê,' 'ye *came to* me': we still use 'shoot at,' 'aim at,' 'snarl at,' almost in the same sense.

Scene III.

5. *of policy*, in craft, in deceit. Compare Henry VI, i. 1. 78:

'And did my brother Bedford toil his wits,
To keep by *policy* what Henry got?'

8. *cast*, think; compare v. 2. 57, where it means 'plots.' The Libell of Englishe Policy, 656: 'I *cast* to speke of Ireland but a litel,' i. e. 'I mean,' 'intend.'

12. *False of his word.* *Of* expressed first 'separation from a place': compare 'forth of France,' iv. 3. 25, which is now expressed by 'off'; then 'deprivation,' as to 'rob of' a thing. It also expresses 'cause' and 'motive,' as in line 1, '*of* love,' and line 5, 'sent *of* policy'; and as here 'quality.' See Mätzner, English Grammar, ii. p. 252. Compare 'Faire of coulour,' Maundevile, p. 101; and note on iii. 2. 19.

16. *secretly arriv'd.* Gaveston had been in Tynemouth with the King and Barons, ii. 2. 50, and there is nothing to show that much time has elapsed. It would seem that the poet has made a little slip. Intending to represent only one banishment of Gaveston, as in i. 4, and one return, as in ii. 2, he brings him to Tynemouth, ii. 2. 50, instead of to Chester, and there the open quarrel between King and Barons takes place, the second exile and return being omitted. But the authorities spoke of a secret joining of the King in the north, contrary to the King's express promise and agreement with the Barons; and Marlowe, following the real history at this point, has forgotten that this second and secret return has been excluded by his plan. See note on ii. 2. 1, and 51.

21. *totter'd,* tattered. See v. 5. 64; and compare Jew of Malta, iv. 5. 6:

'He sent a shaggy *tottered* staring slave.'

This is the spelling of the first and second quartos in Richard II, iii. 3. 52:

'That from this castle's *tottered* battlements,'

where the folios read *tatter'd.*

22. It is apparently intended to assert that the Mortimers were Crusaders who got their name from the Dead Sea, *Mortuum Mare,* in Palestine. This is not really the origin of the name. Mortemer was the name of a town or village at the source of the Eaulne, in the Pays de Caux, in Normandy. A Roger de Mortemer fought in the battle of Mortemer, A. D. 1054, was exiled and restored by Duke William. The name was Latinised into the form 'de Mortuo mari,' and in later days that name naturally suggested a famous ancestor who had been a crusader distinguished by the shores of the Dead Sea. Cunningham has a note 'In all Latin deeds the Mortimers are called "de mortuo mari,"' but he gives no dates. Hugo de Mortuo Mari, and Robertus de Mortuo Mari were among those who attended the first council of Henry III, A.D. 1216 when the Great Charter was re-issued. See note on i. 1. 74.

25. *alarum,* the call to arms. Fr. *alarme,* It. *all'arme,* Lat. *ad illa arma,* 'to the arms.' In ii. 5. 2 the shortened form *'larums* is used.

28. *neither.* In more strictly correct grammar 'neither' should be next before 'Gaveston': 'spare you neither Gaveston, nor his friends.' See v. 2. 54.

Scene IV.

2. *I fear me*: 'me' is redundant, see note on ii. 2. 18, v. 6. 75. Compare Abbott, § 296.

5. *Scarborough*. The Barons, under Thomas Earl of Lancaster and the confederates, nearly captured Gaveston at Newcastle (see note on ii. 2. 51), and then besieged him in Scarborough Castle, where he was obliged to capitulate on May 19.

21. *scap'd*. Compare 'scape,' line 37; 'escap'd,' ii. 5. 1. The word is from the Old Fr. *eschapper*, *escaper*, Lat. *ex cappa*, to slip out of one's cape; Italian has a word very like it from Lat. *ex campus*, to quit the field. The word had two forms 'escape' and 'scape,' like 'estate' and 'state,' 'exchange' and 'change,' 'escheat' and 'cheat,' 'esquire' and 'squire,' 'espial' and 'spy,' 'establish' and 'stablish.' In some of these words the one form, as '*estate*,' is French, the other, 'state,' is Latin; in some it is probable that the south dialects kept the French shape as 'establish,' while the dialects more affected by Scandinavian clipped the word: in some, as 'esquire' and 'escheat,' legal language kept the French form, and popular speech clipped the words into 'squire' and 'cheat.'

30. *is't him*. 'Him' should be 'he' in correct grammar. The irregularity is to be accounted for thus: 'It' is looked on as the subject of the verb, 'him' coming after the verb and not close to it is taken (wrongly) as if it were not the subject, then the omission of the relative 'whom' allows 'him' to slip into the place of the object of the verb 'seek.' See note on ii. 2. 136.

39. *Forslow*, waste; '*forslawian*, to be slow, unwilling, to grieve,' is in Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. But the word seems to have been little used; then to have been recoined by Elizabethan writers, and again to have become soon obsolete. Verbs compounded of *for-* (German *ver-*) are less common now than in the earlier days of the language. Compare 'forbannivit eos,' he banished them, Hemingburgh, ii. 233. See Tancock, Gram. p. 86. Wagner quotes 3 Henry VI, ii. 3. 56:

'*Forslow* no longer, make we hence amain.'

40. See note on i. 4. 133.

42. *lesser*. This is a 'second' or 'double' comparative' formed from 'less,' which has itself a comparative force; Tancock, Gram. p. 51. In very old English *læs* used as a comparative is probably a modified form of an adjective *leas*, meaning 'empty,' 'weak,' loose.' Compare English Chron. A.D. 641, 643, 'twa *læs* xxx geara'; 'And siþþen iss itt *lasse* swinc,' Ormulum, 11665. 'Less' and 'lesser' are used without difference in the Paston Letters, i. 487, and in Elizabethan and in modern English. See Notes and Queries, 5 Ser. x. p. 294.

45. *a Flemish hoy.* A Dutch word for a small one-decked vessel Compare Ben Jonson, Alchemist, iii. 2:

'And brought munition with him, six great slops,
Bigger than Dutch *hoys*.'

A large number of English names of vessels and boats are of Dutch origin, as 'sloop,' 'yacht'; while 'barque,' 'brigantine,' 'frigate' (It. *fregata*), 'pinnace' (It. *pinaccia*) came from the south of Europe and the Mediterranean trade. It is probable that 'hoy' is the same word as *hogges*, which occurs in a Latin poem called An Invective against France, A. D. 1346.

'Anglicus ecce rogus Francos facit *hogges* et koghes.'

The 'hoy' became very common on the Thames.

52. *so.* 'So' is followed by 'that,' not by 'as,' in modern English, to express an effect, or consequence, in future time, or subjunctive mood, which is, as here, contingent and future. 'As' is used at times of past or present time. Compare iii. 2. 22, iv. 3. 16, note on i. 4. 259, v. 1. 19; Abbott, § 109.

63. *not regard.* This use of the negative preceding the verb is now obsolete; we say 'if he do not regard,' or 'if he regard not,' but we do not say 'if he not regard.' The idiom was, however, common in earlier English, and more especially while 'ne' was used for 'not.' This is seen in the old use of negative verbs, 'nam,' am not; 'nave,' have not; and 'nill,' will not, which last survives in the phrase 'willy-nilly,' will-he, not-will-he. Lord Tennyson has revived this among many Elizabethan idioms in Queen Mary, iv. 3, p. 201:

'Take therefore, all example by this man,
For if our Holy Queen *not pardon* him,
Much less shall others in like cause escape.'

Compare St. Clement's Eve, ii. 2. 2:

'That liberty she grants herself, good soul,
She *not denies* to others.'

Scene V.

1. Gaveston is represented as having escaped into the open country, but see note on ii. 4. 5.

2. *'larums.* See note on ii. 3. 25.

5. *malgrado*, in spite of. It. *malgrado*, Lat. *male gratum*, ill-pleasing; the French form of the exclamation was *malgré* or *maugre*. The word is at times almost equivalent to an oath or curse, so the late Latin verb *malgreare* is to curse.

15. *Greekish strumpet.* Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, who was carried off to Troy by Paris, and hence was the cause of the Trojan

War; Virgil, Aeneid, ii. 567. The form 'Greekish' was used in the Ormulum, 4304–7:

'Iss writenn o Grickisshe boc;
Afterr Grickisshe spæche,'

and in Troilus and Cressida, i. 3. 67, 'Knit all the *Greekish* ears'; by Chapman in his translation of Homer; and has been revived by Mr. W. Morris in his translation of Virgil's Aeneid.

Ib. train'd, drew in her toils, enticed, entangled. Fr. *trainer*; Lat. *trahere*. Compare iii. 3. 17:

'They'd best, betimes, forsake thee, and their *trains*.'

Jew of Malta, v. 4. 104:

'This *train* he laid to have entrapped thy life.'

Spenser, Faery Queene, i. 3. 24:

'But subtill Archimag, that Una sought
By *traynes* into new troubles to have tost.'

Capgrave, Chronicle, p. 183: 'that the Kyng of Scottis schuld be sum *trayn* kille this Thomas, as he wold do plesauns to the Kyng of Ynglond.'

18. *buckler*. Compare i. 4. 288.

26. *for*, because, since. Compare line 65.

27. Dyce says that after these words, a line in which Warwick said something about Gaveston being *beheaded* seems to have dropt out. This is possible; but the scene as it now stands, if acted properly, would be plainly understood. Gaveston listens calmly to the torrents of abuse in lines 8–25, he makes no sign when he is told to 'look for death,' or when he hears 'by my sword his head shall off'; but at the words 'hang him at a bough' he starts and exclaims indignantly, for hanging is not the death for a gentleman and a soldier. Warwick at once admits this, and the words 'so much honour,' are not obscure in this context. Gaveston, with the easy scorn and light humour of the Frenchman, thanks the barons though he sees the difference is small in reality after all.

29. The distinction was of importance; a nobleman and a soldier would expect 'beheading' as honourable, a felon would expect hanging. Henry VIII had Edward Earl of Warwick *beheaded*, but Perkin Warbeck *hanged*, to show that he was a pretender and not of the royal blood. A soldier in the present day would demand to be shot, not hanged. Wolfe Tone, the Irish rebel of 1798, demanded the soldier's death not the felon's, and killed himself in prison to avoid being hanged. Compare Capgrave, Chronicle, p. 190, who (speaking of the events after Boroughbridge) says: 'Thomas was juged to drawyng, *hanging and hedyng*. But the Kyng, of special grace, dispensid with him of the two first peynes.' Holinshed, p. 331, 'to be drawne, *hanged* and *headed*,

but bicause he was the queenes uncle and sonne to the kings uncle, he was pardoned of all save heading.'

30. This was Edmund Fitz-Alan, eighth Earl of Arundel. He acted with the Barons in the early part of the reign, was one of the Lords Ordainers in 1310 of the opposition side, but afterwards sided with the King. He was put to death by Mortimer in 1326. See p. 89.

33. This is the reading of the edition of 1598.

'His Majes / ty hearing / that you / had tak / en Gaves / ton.'

34. *but*. See note on i. 1. 164.

35. *for why*, wherefore, because. *Why* is the instrumental case of the interrogative *who*, and is here used with a preposition. Compare Ormulum, 2421, 'Nu wile I shrwenn yuw *forrwhi*.' Spenser, Faery Queene, ii. 1. 14: '*Forthy* appease your grief.' Tancock, Gram. pp. 44, 56, 91.

39. *Renowmèd*, renowned. Fr. *renommé, nom*, Lat. *nomen*; the older form *renowmèd* has given way to *renowned*; Elizabethan writers used either form at pleasure.

44. The reading of the text is that of the ed. 1598, to which Dyce objects that 'metre is corrupt and sense bad.' He reads 'Will *now* these *short* delays beget my hopes.' Cunningham on this says, he 'fails to see that the obscurity of the original is in any degree removed.' As for metre *will* is an accented monosyllabic foot beginning a line, as 'Earl,' i. 1. 156. Compare Abbott, §§ 480–6. As for sense, Gaveston scarcely restrains his scorn for Warwick, and puts the question to him sarcastically; then turns seriously to the other lords and assures them that he has no 'hopes' of life, yet still, certain as death is, this small favour might be granted.

50. *gets*, shall get. The present is used instead of the future, as bringing the thing more vividly to the eyes, and making it an absolute certainty.

56. *talk*. Compare Holinshed, p 321: 'requiring no other condition but that he might come to the King's presence to talke with him.'

58. *realm*. Cunningham reads re alm here, a disyllable, wrongly; it is a monosyllable, as in iii. 2. 3, 15. Dyce reads *care* as a disyllable, *realm* as a monosyllable, which is better. See note on i. 1. 111.

Ib. remits, neglects, omits. We use 'remiss' in this sense.

59. *exigents*, needs, extremities. Compare Julius Cæsar, v. 1. 19:

'Why do you cross me in this *exigent*?'

60. *sees*. The old editions read *seize*, which Dyce kept in the text of his earlier edition and which Mr. Buller reads; but *sees*, the conjecture of Cunningham, adopted by Wagner, is an almost certain correction. The Barons might fear that the King would *seize* Gaveston, but the word 'possess' in line 61 does not suit, for if Arundel carried Gaveston to the

King's presence, and the King 'seized' him, he would possess him; having violated his promise by 'seizing' there would be no further violation needful to 'possess' him. But *see* is exactly suitable to lines 35, 75, 91, iii. 1. 15, iii. 2. 7. The Barons were afraid that if the King should 'see' him he would then violate his promise that he should 'be safe returned,' iii. 2. 112, and would keep him.

69. *groom.* See note on i. 4. 97.

82. *had I wist*, had I known (what would happen), a common phrase of disappointment or repentance. Compare Taylor's Penniless Pilgrimage, p. i:

> 'List, lordlings, list (if you have lust to list)
> I write not here a tale of had I wist:
> But you shall hear of travels and relations.'

Spenser, Mother Hubberd's Tale of the Ape and Fox:

> 'Most miserable man, whom wicked fate
> Hath brought to Court, to sue for had-ywist,
> That few have found, and manie one hath mist.'

92. Warwick's aside gives the spectators of the play a hint of what is coming.

98. *wenches. Wencle*, a child, a girl, is found in Anglo-Saxon, and *wenchel* is a later form from which *wench* arose, as if *wenchell* were a diminutive. Compare Ormulum, 3354:

> 'Forr yuw iss borenn nu to dayy
> Haelende off yure sinness,
> An wenchell thatt is Jesu Crist.'

This word is here used playfully, as pretty girls; it is one of the words which have gone down in the world, like 'villain,' 'knave,' 'groom,' see note on i. 4. 28; so that it would not now be polite to apply it to a lady. It occurs in Matt. ix. 24 (Wiclif): 'The *wenche* is not dead, but slepith.' Compare Holinshed, p. 321: 'whilest he for one night went to visit his wife, lieng not farre from thence.'

101. *an adamant*, a magnet, a loadstone; from Lat. *adamantem*, Greek ἀδάμας. Two forms arose, *adamant* (Fr. *adamant* and *aimant*) and *diamond* (Fr. *diamant*). We distinguish the words, but at one time they were used without distinction. For *adamant* meaning 'loadstone,' 'a very hard substance,' 'a precious stone,' see Sir John Maundevile, p. 163: 'In that Ile ben Schippes with outen Nayles of Iren or Bonds, for the Roches of the *Ademandes*; for thei ben alle fulle there aboute, in that See, that it is merveyle to speken of. And if a Schipp passed be tho Marches, that hadde outher Iren Bondes or Iren Nayles, anon he scholde ben perissche. For the Ademand, of his kynde, drawethe the Iren to him: and so wolde it drawe to him the Schipp because of the Iren; that he scholde never departen fro it, ne never go thens.' Compare

'the mighty magnes stone' that 'drawes all passengers' in Spenser, Faery Queene, ii. 12. 4; Histriomastix, ii. 1. 47:

'Your bookes are Adamants, and you the Iron
That cleaves to them till you confounde yourselfe.'

Adamant is a very hard substance in Chaucer, Knightes Tale, 1132:

'The dores were alle of *ademauntz* eterne.'

and in Milton, Par. Lost, i. 48:

'In *adamantine* chains and penal fire.'

A curious passage in Euphues, p. 341, runs thus: 'For as it is impossible for the best *Adamant* to drawe yron unto it if the *Diamond* be neere it.' In Spenser's Faery Queene, i. 7. 33, Prince Arthur's shield was,

'All of *diamond* perfect, . . .
Hewen out of *adamant* rocke.'

107. *Cobham.* The notice of Cobham is not from Holinshed or Fabyan. Marlowe has not kept exactly to history in the later part of this scene. Gaveston, at Scarborough, had surrendered, May 19, to Pembroke, and under a safe conduct from him was being taken to his castle at Wallingford, there to await the meeting of Parliament in August. On his way, at Deddington, he was carried off by the Earl of Warwick to the castle of Warwick, and was beheaded at Blacklow hill, 'locum qui dicitur quasi prophetice Gavessich,' June 19; Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 332. Compare Capgrave, Chron. p. 178: 'thei wold a loggid him in a town fast by Warwic thei clepe Dodington, but the erl of Warwik cam with strength, and led him to his Castel. And whan thei were in grete doute what thei schuld do with him, whether thei schuld lede him to the Kyng or not, a grete wittid man sayd thus:—"Many day have ye huntid, and failed of youre game; now have ye caute your prai. If he scape youre handis ye gete him not litely." Sone was he led oute and his hed smet of.' Holinshed tells the same story in less dramatic style.

ACT III.

Scene I.

The events follow closely on those of the last scene of Act ii, and the scene is laid not far from Deddington or Warwick. See last note.

1. *friend.* The Earl of Pembroke, who however was not one of the most vigorous of the Barons and was not an enemy to the King. Compare line 10. He became a supporter of the King. See p. 89.

3. *bands,* bonds.

4. *period,* end; so a full stop is called a period.

5. *centre.* There is some slight obscurity here, in calling the same

day 'the period' or end 'of life,' and the 'centre of all bliss.' Cunningham and Wagner have a note of interrogation at 'life,' and a note of exclamation at 'bliss.' Wagner's note shows that he has entirely missed the point of the passage. He says: '"Centre" is either used in the Greek sense of *κέντρον* "a prick," meaning that which destroys his happiness; or else—and this is much more probable—we should emend *the end*.' The proposal of such an emendation is a poor way out of a difficulty, and the 'Greek sense' is no better. The meaning is, 'Must this day, which was to be, which seemed to be, the point on which all bliss centred since on it I was to see the King, must this day be the end of my life? What a melancholy contrast!' The very thought of the 'bliss' bids him urge Pembroke's men to speed to the King. In an almost parallel passage, iv. 6. 61, all misfortune 'centres' on the day which is 'the last of all my bliss,' of being king.

13. *watched it*. See note on i. 4. 373.

14. *shadow*, thy shade, ghost, spirit.

17. *booted not*, was of no advantage. See note on i. 4. 63.

18. *go certify*, inform, as Latin *certiorem facere*. See note on i. 1. 5; but the ellipse may be filled by inserting 'and.'

Scene II.

8. *Pierce*. The older spelling was Piers, in Holinshed Peers, a form of Lat. Petrus, Peter. Edward in one of his letters called him Perot, perhaps an affectionate diminutive. Stow calls him Pierce, Pierse, and Peter.

12. *Longshanks*. Fabyan, Chron. p. 398, says that at Berwick 'the Scottes . . . bete the Englysshemen backe, and brent some of the Englysshe shyppes; with the whiche enterpryse they were so enflamyd with pryde, that, in derysyon of the Kynge, they made this mokkysche ryme folowyng:

'What wenys Kynge Edwarde, with his *longe shankys*,
To have wonne Berwyk, all our unthankys,
Gaas pykes hym,
And whan he hath it
Gaas dykes hym.'

13. Compare note on i. 1. 111 and iii. 3. 40.

16. *magnanimity*, high-souled courage. The word is used rather of the haughty courage of a man superior to all control, than in the modern sense of one who exercises a lofty spirit of forgiveness. It has the classical force here, as when Virgil uses it of brave heroes and of high-spirited horses; Æn. vi. 649, iii. 704. Compare 3 Henry VI, v. 4. 41:

'Methinks a woman of this valiant spirit
Should, if a coward heard her speak these words,
Infuse his breast with *magnanimity*
And make him, naked, foil a man at arms.'

19. *Be*, to be. See note on i. 1. 5; *be* cannot now follow 'suffer,' but it may follow the synonymous word 'let.'

Ib. counterbuff'd, beaten, insulted. A substantive 'buff,' of which the diminutive 'buffet' is still used, is the root of this verb.

Ib. Of expresses the agent instead of the modern 'by.' Compare i. 1. 144, 'honoured of Hercules'; Jew of Malta, Prol. 'Admired I am of those'; St. Matthew ii. 16, 'mocked of the wise men'; St. Luke xvii. 25, 'rejected of this generation.' See note on ii. 3. 12.

21. See note on ii. 4. 52, i. 4. 259.

27. *steel it*. Wagner explains, '*steel* means to point or edge,' evidently taking *it* as the sword, line 25. But *it* is better taken as the almost redundant 'it' (compare note on i. 4. 373), and the phrase explained 'we'll try our steel' on their crests.

Ib. poll, cut off. Compare 2 Samuel xiv. 26: 'And when he *polled* his head, for it was at every year's end that he *polled* it; because the hair was heavy upon him therefore he *polled* it.' So a 'pollard' is a tree with its head close cut.

28. *haught*, lofty. Fr. *haut*, high. Compare Richard II, iv. 1. 254:

'Thou *haught* insulting man.'

Holinshed, p. 325, of Spenser: 'he bare himselfe so *hautie* and proud.'

31. Compare Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 331, note. Under the Ordinances of the Ordainers, 1311, Edward 'complained that he was treated like an idiot, "sicut providetur fatuo, totius domus suae ordinatio ex alieno dependeret arbitrio."'

34. *old man*. He was born in 1262, so that if the poet is treating this as just before the battle of Boroughbridge, 1322, he was sixty years old; he was sixty-four at the time of his death, not, as some of the historians have represented, ninety years of age. If this be taken as the year of Gaveston's death, 1312, he was only fifty years old.

35. *of whence*, so 'from thence,' 'from whence,' iv. 3. 16, 24. These idioms are instances of 'double forms.' The termination *-es* (or later *-ce*) expresses in adverbs 'separation from,' but as inflexions lost their force prepositions were used expressing the same thing again; see Tancock, Gram. pp. 44, 82. Marlowe, like Shakespeare, uses 'thence' and 'whence,' with or without prepositions, at pleasure.

37. *brown bills*, properly halberds used by foot-soldiers, but here used for foot-soldiers themselves, just as we speak of 'the rifles.' The halberds were bronzed to prevent rust, like the 'brown Bess.' Compare King Lear, iv. 6. 89 (note in Clar. Press Ed.); and Greene, Friar

Bacon, xi. 53: 'Up, Miles, to your task; take your *brown-bill* in your hand; here's some of your master's hobgoblins abroad.'

44. *lieu*, stead, place, in return for; Fr. *lieu*, Lat. *locum.*

47. The elder Spenser is in this scene represented as a stranger to the King, see Introd. p. xiii; in reality he was well known to him, for he was one of the important barons. This Hugh le Despenser was son of Hugh le Despenser the great justiciar (1260), who was on the Barons' side in the reign of Henry III, took charge of the King after the battle of Lewes, and was killed with Montfort at Evesham, 1265. He was step-son of Roger Bigod who had compelled Edward I to confirm the charters. He had been employed by Edward I, and had supported Edward II and Gaveston in 1308. He was godfather to the King's eldest son. Compare Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 336. The barons hated him as a deserter of their cause. The name *le Despenser* is from Lat. *dispensator*, house-steward. Compare Sir John Maundevile, p. 123; 'This Cytee founded Helizeus Damascus, that was Yoman and *Despenser* of Abraham.'

48. *argues*, proves.

49. *Earl of Wiltshire.* This is said to the younger Spenser. Marlowe has perhaps intentionally copied the creation by Richard II of Sir William Scrope to be Earl of Wiltshire, Holinshed, p. 1102. The elder Spenser was created Earl of Winchester in the parliament that sat at York in 1322, after the battle of Boroughbridge. Holinshed, p. 332; Fabyan, p. 426. Compare iii. 3. 60. It is possible that, since in Marlowe's time, as now, the eldest son of the Marquess of Winchester bore the title of Earl of Wiltshire, he antedated the connexion between the titles purposely.

52. *the more*, 'the' is the instrumental case. See Tancock, Gram. p. 44, and note on ii. 5. 35.

53. *Lord Bruse doth sell his land.* Compare Holinshed, p. 325 (sub anno 1321): 'About this season, the Lord William de Bruce [Braiose] that in the marches of Wales enioied diverse faire possessions to him descended from his ancestors . . . offered to sell a certeine portion of his lands, called Gowers land . . . unto diverse noble men that had their lands adjoining to the same, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Mortimers, the uncle and nephue, albeit the lord Mowbraie that had maried the onelie daughter and heire of the Lord Bruce thought verelie in the end to have had it. . . . But at length (as unhap would) Hugh Spenser the yoonger lord chamberleine, coveting that land . . . found such means through the Kings furtherance and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchase to the great displeasure of the other lords that had beene in hand to buie it.' Marlowe borrows the fact, and also the expressions 'Lord Bruse' and 'to be in hand.' Stow, p. 341, tells the story shortly of 'Sir William Bruis,' see Introd. p. xvii; but Fabyan

does not mention this reason for the rising of the barons. This quarrel was embittered by another. Hugh le Despenser the younger, Hugh of Audley, and Roger d'Amory, who had married the three sisters and co-heiresses of the Earl of Gloucester, were quarrelling over the lands of the inheritance. Hugh of Audley and Roger d'Amory were of the barons' party. See Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 340–350. Wagner says *to be in hand* seems to mean 'can be deceived or cheated,' and compares 'to bear in hand,' wrongly, as the extract from Holinshed shows. It means 'are negotiating.'

57. *largess*, a present, bounty; from Fr. *largesse*, late Lat. *largitia*, Lat. *largior*.

64. *Normandy*. The quarrel was not really about Normandy but Ponthieu and Guienne; Philip V died in 1322, and was succeeded by Charles IV, by whom Edward was at last summoned to Amiens for July 1, 1324; and it was likely that his lands would be declared to be forfeited.

66. *Tush*. The King treats the matter lightly; one of the accusations against him was that he had not upheld the honour of the country against France and Scotland.

Ib. Sib. Wagner says 'an endearing abbreviation of Isabel.'

71. Isabella was sent to France in 1325 to try to influence her brother Charles IV; see note on ii. 2. 168. Ponthieu was transferred to young Edward, Sept. 2, 1325, Guienne, Sept. 10, 1325, and he sailed to join his mother in France Sept. 12, and fell at once under her influence.

75. *so young as I*. 'Prince' is in the objective case, so 'I' should be *me*, but the grammatical construction is not very clearly marked, since the pronoun is so far away from the verb 'fits'; the irregularity therefore is not obtrusive. See note on ii. 2. 136.

79. *towardness*, fitness; the word expresses the quality opposite to 'frowardness.' The idea of the Queen's remark is the same as that of the expressions 'too good for this world,' 'too clever to live.'

87. *once*, once for all.

93. See note on i. 1. 5.

102. *recreants*, traitors; Fr. *récreant*, Lat. *recredentem*, one who has given up his faith, an apostate; also one who has broken faith with his lord or king, a traitor; by another slight change, a coward. Compare Richard II, i. 1. 144:

'A *recreant* and most degenerate traitor.'

113. *how fortunes*. See note on i. 4. 272.

116. *being deliver'd*, he being delivered, an absolute nominative. Compare note on ii. 1. 48; and line 170.

120. Gaveston was beheaded in the presence of the Earl of Lancaster on Blacklow Hill on June 19, 1312. See note on ii. 5. 29.

127. He speaks of the barons as if they were foxes. They were not in their castles, but encamped in the open to meet the King. Compare King Lear, v. 3. 22:

'He that parts us shall bring a brand from heaven,
And fire us hence like foxes.'

128. This form of oath is classical and Virgilian rather than Christian and suitable to an English King. Compare 'to the gods,' v. 1. 22: and 'hear me, immortal Jove,' v. 1. 142. So Tamburlaine often appeals to 'Jove.' Compare the words placed in the mouth of the actor Kempe in 'The Return from Parnassus' (acted 1602) act iv. sc. 5: 'Few of the university pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talke too much of Proserpina and Juppiter.'

145. *merely*, of my pure love, and for no other reason.

146. The younger le Despenser married Eleanor, eldest of the three co-heiresses of the Earl of Gloucester. See note on line 53. The earldom was thus revived in favour of the husband of the eldest; but Hugh of Audley was made Earl of Gloucester in 1336. See note on i. 4. 378.

149. The relative 'who' or 'that' is omitted, as is very usual in Elizabethan writers; compare iv. 2. 55. It is not usual in modern English to omit the relative when it is the subject of a clause, but only when it would be in the objective case.

152. *I wis*, properly this is *iwis*, *ywis*, a later form of the adjective *gewis*, 'sure,' from the verb *witan*, to know. It became an adverb 'surely.' After a time the form was misunderstood, when the prefix *ge-* or *y-* or *i-* was disappearing from ordinary use, and the personal pronoun *ic* or *ich* weakened into *i*. Then the *i-* was separated, and written as a capital, and taken as the 1st personal pronoun subject of a verb in the present tense, 'I know,' 'I am sure': as 'I trow' is used in iv. 2. 44. See Earle, Philology of the English Tongue, p. 248. Compare Merchant of Venice, ii. 9. 68.

158. *plainer*, complainer, one who makes plaint or complaint. The verb 'plain' has, like many simple verbs of Latin origin, as 'sue,' 'mit,' 'prehend,' almost entirely passed from use, and given place to compounded forms from the same root. Compare 'to plain,' v. 1. 22: so Richard II, i. 3. 175:

'After our sentence *plaining* comes too late.'

162. Compare Richard II, iii. 4. 29–66.

163. *deads*, kills. This old verb is obsolete.

164. *empale*, enclose, encircle. Compare 3 Henry VI, iii. 3. 189:

'Did I *impale* him with the regal crown?'

Scene III.

Marlowe has condensed the story of the rising of the Barons, see Introd. p. xiii. He has passed over the troubles of 1320–21; the success of the Barons, and the exile of the Despensers; the King's recovery of power; and the restoration of the favourites. In representing the outbreak of 1321–22, he condenses all into one rising and one battle, which is evidently Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, fought on March 16, 1322. The real history is as follows: the King in October 1321 recovered influence, and determined to attack the Barons of the Welsh March who had joined in the attack on the Despensers, and had been pardoned Aug. 20. He was successful during the winter, for the Mortimers yielded near Bridgnorth at the end of January 1322; in February he recalled the Despensers. Lancaster and his confederates marched southward, but came no further than Burton-on-Trent, and then retreated. The King took Kenilworth and Tutbury Castles. Sir Andrew Harclay gained for him the battle of Boroughbridge, March 16, in which the Earl of Hereford was killed, and Lancaster was taken. The prisoners were brought to the King at Pomfret, but he had not been in the battle as here represented.

9. *retire*, retreat. Compare King John, ii. 1. 253:

'And with a blessed and unvexed retire.'

The command *retire* becomes a substantive, as a technical term, e. g. 'sound the *retire*,' then 'this *retire*,' is spoken of: the word is also used in a general, and not merely military sense; Milton, Par. Lost, xi. 297:

'Ere . . . . . .
Discovered soon the place of her retire.'

14. *shall.* The subject 'he' is understood from the former line.

17. *They had best.* The origin of the idiom is this; the impersonal phrase 'them were better,' 'them were best,' meaning 'it were, or would be, better for them' was changed into a personal phrase, as the oblique case 'them' seemed ungrammatical (see note on i. 4. 354), and was written 'they were better'; the two most common auxiliaries 'be' and 'have' were used at will (as 'I am come,' or, 'I have come,' 'they were come,' or, 'they had come') and 'they had better' gradually drove out the older phrase.

Ib. trains; see note on ii. 5. 15.

20. Pembroke was on the King's side at this time, see page 89.

34. St. George was the patron saint of England from the time of Edward III, introduced by the Crusaders; he was the patron of Genoa, and it is said that Richard I adopted the device of St. George for his ensign in compliment to Genoa, the energetic crusading city. A curious story of a dream, related by Hemingburgh, ii. 299 (sub anno 1327),

speaks of an army which 'virgo quaedam pulcerrima, vexillum sancti Georgii in manibus ferens praeibat.' This notice of the war-cry at Boroughbridge is not from Holinshed, but belongs rather to the poet's own time. Thus Spenser, Faery Queene, Bk. I. makes the Red Cross Knight, St. George, the pattern Englishman. Drayton, Mortimeriados, p. 260, has adopted this battle-cry:

'England's Red Cross upon both sides doth flye,
Saint George! the King, Saint George! the Barons cry.'

There is a note to Drayton's Polyolbion iv. in which his line

'And humbly to St. George their Country's Patron pray'

is illustrated by notices that 'Ha, St. Edward, ha, St. George,' was the English invocation at Calais in the reign of Edward III: that the same king 'consecrated to St. George the knightly Order of the Garter.' Sir A. Helps, with the same anachronism, in his play, Henry II, iv. 4, makes

'The citizens of Rouen shout
Hurrah, hurrah, Harry our King,
St. George for merry England.'

40. *braves.* See note on i. 1. 111.

45. *regard,* in care for, having regard to.

52. *watch'd,* this should be *watchedst* in strict grammar, but it is attracted to the person of the nearest substantive, Warwick, which appearing to be a nominative, becomes wrongly the subject. See note on i. 4. 133.

Guy Earl of Warwick died in 1315; Marlowe has either not noticed this, or has here, as in several places, made strict accuracy in detail subservient to dramatic effect, which is here of course heightened by the poetical justice which overtakes Warwick. His son Thomas, Earl of Warwick, was not in this battle, nor was his head taken off after it; he was not one of the rebels. He was however imprisoned, fined, and set at liberty some time afterwards, as 'a secret favourer of the barons cause . . . . in time of the late troubles.' Holinshed, p. 332.

57. *temporal,* punishment in this life: you cannot touch the life to come. Compare Macbeth, i. 7. 1–12.

60. *Winchester.* The elder Spenser, who was Earl of Winchester, compare iii. 2. 49. He was present; see Holinshed, p. 331.

67. The younger Mortimer, who had yielded before, see note on line 1, was in the Tower: his uncle, the elder Mortimer, who has dropped out of the play since ii. 2. 116, had yielded with him, and was in the Tower with him, and died there.

69. Lancaster was tried before a body of peers in Pomfret Castle, and beheaded on March 22, as a rebel and a person convicted of dealing with the King's enemies, the Scots.

71. Compare the lines of Lovelace:

'Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.'

80. See note on iv. 3. 15.

83. *Danae.* See note on ii. 2. 53.

86. *regiment.* See note on i. 1. 165; v. i. 26.

88. *levell'd,* aimed. Compare v. 3. 12, 39: Richard III, iv. 4. 202:

'And therefore *level* not to hit their lives.'

Dr. Faustus, i. 4:

'Yet *level* at the end of every art.'

Euphues, p. 80:

'In deede Lucilla you *level* shrewdly at my thought.'

91. *clap,* strike so secretly.

ACT IV.

Scene I.

1. Marlowe has invented this conduct of Kent, who is here made to join Mortimer in England and go with him to France. Fabyan, p. 428, says, 'Syr Edmunde of Woodstoke the Kynges brother' was then 'at Burdeaux as the kynges deputye.' Edmund of Kent was ambassador to France with the Bishop of Durham 'for to excuse the Kyng,' 'but thei sped not.' As they failed, the Queen was sent, in 1325, after, not before, Kent. See note on iv. 4. 1.

7. *looseness,* unrestrained conduct. Compare Drayton, Polyolbion, xvii. 193:

'This Edward, First of ours, a Second then ensues;
Who both his name and birth, by *looseness,* did abuse.'

9. *stay,* await, stay for; so tarry, in iii. 2. 173.

13. *potion,* draught, a sleeping draught given to his guards. 'Potion' and 'poison' are two forms of the Lat. *potionem,* a draught. Compare Fabyan, p. 428: 'And in the begynnynge of August folowynge, Syr Roger Mortymer of Wygmore, by meane of a slepying poison, or drynke, that he gave unto his kepars, as the comon fame went, escapyd out of the towre of London, and went to the quene into Fraunce.' He escaped August 1, 1324, before the Queen was sent. Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 354, 356. Drayton, Mortimeriados, p. 269, has made the Queen supply the potion and watch Mortimer's flight, as one of the episodes in the story of two lovers. Compare Introd. p. x.

Scene II.

4. *a fig.* An expression of contempt, supposed to be taken from a Spanish phrase. *Fig* stands for anything proverbially worthless. Compare Henry V, iii. 6. 60:

> '*Pist.* A *figo* for thy friendship!
> *Flu.* It is well.
> *Pist.* The *fig* of Spain!'

7. '*A*, he. See Abbott, § 402.

21. See note on i. 4. 354.

24. *break a staff*, i.e. to take a man's part in a battle between knights who fight with spears.

25. Compare ii. 2. 261.

27. *my sweet heart.* A term of endearment used generally, and then gradually narrowed in meaning so as to become equivalent to 'lover.' It is compounded of the two words 'sweet' and 'heart.' 'Heart' was used as a term of endearment, as by Chaucer, Troilus and Cresseide, iii. 988: 'Lo! herte mine'; so in the next stanza 'my dere herte'; and in line 1173, 'O swete herte mine Creseide' (quoted by Professor Skeat in Notes and Queries, 5th Ser. ix. p. 111). Compare Ralph Roister Doister, iii. 5: 'To myne owne dere coney birde *sweete heart*.' Euphues, p. 114 (Arber), 'And although thy sweete hearte binde thee by othe alwaye to holde a candle at hir shrine.' The Queen here uses the word of her son, the Prince, as a general term of endearment; it is part of her plan and of her character to make as much as possible of her affection for him, as if that were her only reason for the invasion.

30. *or the shore of Tanais*, to furthest south or east. *Tanais* is the river Don. Dyce reads *on* needlessly.

32. *marquis.* He was *Comte*, count, which Fabyan, p. 428, renders as usual 'erle.' So Holinshed, p. 337, and Stow, p. 347.

39. *truest of the twain*, the truer of the two.

40. *hap*, fortune.

43. *and.* See note on ii. 1. 40.

44. *not I.* The meaning is 'I will not advance my standard against the King my father.' The phrase is an abrupt ellipse, but the word 'advance' being supplied makes the sense intelligible.

45, 46. The Queen speaks to her son; then turns to Kent and Mortimer and says she wishes there were no worse obstacle in their way than the Prince's unwillingness to 'advance his standard' against his father; but she has no friends to follow the standard.

50, 51. *right . . . . want.* A righteous cause makes way where weapons fail.

53. *part*, party.

55. *Would cast.* See note on iii. 2. 149, and compare Julius Cæsar, i. 2. 243: 'The rabblement howted and *clapped* their chopt hands and *threw up* their sweaty *nightcaps.*' Coriolanus, iv. 6. 130–133:

'You are they
That made the air unwholesome, when you *cast*
Your stinking greasy *caps* in hooting at
Coriolanus' exile.'

56. *appointed,* ready at point, ready. We still use the phrase 'a well-appointed expedition.'

59. *deserv'd,* earned—this honour, peace, and quietness.

61. *sith,* since. *Sith* was in Early English a substantive, meaning 'time,' just as 'while.' The objective case *sith* became an adverb; an oblique case gave *sithan* or *sithen,* which became an adverb expressing movement from; an addition of the later adverbial ending *-es* gave *sithen-es,* also *sithence,* while contraction of the one gave *sin* or *syn* (Scottish, 'Auld lang *syne*'), and of the other gave *since.* Modern English has lost all these forms except 'since.' Compare Tancock, Gram. p. 82, and note on 'while,' iv. 6. 13.

66. *to bid . . . a base,* to challenge the King to a race, a contest of speed. The meaning is clear from line 68. See Nares, Glossary, s. v. *base.* Compare Venus and Adonis, 303:

'*To bid the wind a base* he now prepares,
And whether he run or fly they know not whether.'

Spenser, Faery Queene, v. 8. 5:

'So ran they all as they had been at *bace*
They being chased that did others chace.'

Wagner also quotes Spenser, Faery Queene, iii. 2. 5:

'They after both, and boldly bad him *bace.*'

There is, apparently, a reference to some such game as 'Prisoners'-base.' Compare Drayton, Polyolbion, xi. 136–9:

'To lead the rural routs about the goodly lawns
As over holt and heath, as thorough frith and fell;
And oft at barley-break, and prison-*base,* to tell
(In carols as they course) each other all their joys.'

67. *How say,* plural, *you* being understood from 'think you,' the plural of respect used to the Prince. Dyce preferred 'say'st,' because of 'young Prince' in the singular. 'Now' has been suggested for 'how,' but without need.

Scene III.

3. *uncontroll'd.* 'Uncontrolled' refers to Edward, not to friends. Compare i. 1. 135; i. 4. 38; ii. 2. 262; v. 1. 29.

6. Large numbers of Lancaster's friends and followers were put to

death; Badlesmere at Canterbury, Clifford and Mowbray at York, Gifford at Gloucester.

15. *so.* See note on ii. 4. 52, i. 4, 261. Stow, p. 347: 'The Queene perceiving that y^e^ nobles of France were corrupted with gifts sent out of England . . . secretly conveyed hir selfe and hir sonne to the Erle of Heynalde.' Compare iii. 3. 81–85.

18. See note on iii. 2. 149.

22. *portmasters.* Compare King Lear, ii. 1. 80:

'All ports I'll bar; the villain shall not scape.'

The difficulty of getting out of the kingdom in early days is well illustrated by the case of the Earl of Suffolk in the reign of Henry VI, and the better-known case of Prince Charles after the battle of Worcester.

30. *king of France his lords*, king of France's lords. Writers in the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth appear to have thought that the possessive case ending *-es*, *-is*, or *-s* was an ellipse of the possessive pronoun *his*, and they therefore often wrote *his* in full instead of properly inflecting the word. Their idea was wrong, but there was in earlier English a habit of writing *his* after proper names instead of inflecting them; in fact such words were commonly treated as indeclinable nouns, and the use of 'his' was a convenient periphrasis. Compare Morris and Skeat, Specimens of Early English, Pt. ii. p. 343; Tancock, Gram. p. 43.

41. *lead the round*, lead the dance. 'Roundel' and 'roundelay' are also used for 'a dance.' In Nares' Glossary is quoted, '*Roundelay*, a shepheards dance.' Compare note on i. 1. 60, and Spenser's Faery Queene, i. 6. 7:

'A troupe of Farmers and Satyres far away
Within the wood were *dauncing in a rownd.*'

42. *a God's name*, in . . . See note on ii. 1. 76.

44. Compare Romeo and Juliet, iii. 2. 1–4; a passage which seems to have been suggested by this:

'Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,
Towards Phoebus' lodging: such a waggoner
As Phaethon would whip you to the west,
And bring in cloudy night immediately.'

45. *dusky.* Wagner has followed Cunningham in reading *dusty*, probably a misprint—the jingle is unbearable, and the sense is spoiled

49. *little boy.* He was born in 1312, and so now, in 1326, was 14 years of age.

50. *ills*, ill deeds; now usually of ills suffered, misfortunes.

51. When the Londoners would not help him, the King fled to Gloucester, then into Wales, and tried to escape to Ireland or to reach Lundy Island. The winds beat him back.

52. *equal*, fair, just; Lat. *aequalis*, just. The King hopes to punish the rebels Kent and Mortimer if the winds will bring them to land in England, as he was vexed at their escape, when fair winds took them to France out of his power.

Scene IV.

1. Holinshed, p. 337, says Kent came with the Queen, 'They took the sea, namelie the queen, hir son, Edmund of Wodstoke Earle of Kent, Sir John de Hainault aforesaid, and the lord Roger Mortimore of Wigmore . . . landed at length at Suffolk at a haven called Orwell besides Harwich.' See note on iv. 1. 1.

3. *Belgia*, a name for Lower Germany, or the Netherlands, in which Hainault, a part of the modern Belgium, was included.

4. *cope*, to meet, to encounter. It may mean to meet friends as friends; but probably the intention is 'to encounter here those who ought to receive as friends'—a contrast between 'the friends at home' and those who have been 'kindest friends in Belgia.' Compare As You Like It, ii. 1. 66:

'I love to *cope* him in these sullen fits.'

5. *glaive*, a sword or halberd; properly, a broadsword. Fr. *glaive*, Lat. *gladius*. Compare Drayton, Polyolbion, xxii. 1442:

'Which but his guard of *gleaves*, consisted all of horse.

Byron, Childe Harold, ii. 69. 4:

'And wasted far and near with *glaive* and brand.'

8. *gor'd*, pierced. Compare Richard II, i. 3. 60: 'If I be *gored* with Mowbray's spear.' Capgrave, Chron. p. 189. 'There was Humfrey Bown slayn; as he rod ovyr the brigge; on was beneth and with a spere *gored* him.'

11. *looseness*. Compare iv. 1. 7.

12. *channel*. Compare i. 1. 188.

18. *the prince's right*. The plan was to put forward the young Edward and to rule in his name.

23. *wreak it*, to wreak vengeance. See note on i. 4. 373.

27. *havock*, lay waste; an instance of a substantive used as a verb. See Abbott, p. 5. Compare Mass. at Paris, i. 1. 8, 'may still be *fuelled* in our progeny.' This usage of substantives is very frequent in Elizabethan writers, but is not confined to them. For instance, we have the two modern verbs 'wired' and 'cabled' which have been lately introduced.

Scene V.

5. *The Mortimers*. The younger Mortimer only was with the rebels; the elder Mortimer died in the Tower; see note on i. 3. 67.

6. *reinforce*, strengthen again; used in the sense of 'encourage,' 'hearten,' rather than strengthen by supports or reinforcements in the modern sense. The word is a disyllable. Compare Holinshed, p. 333: 'Till the earles of Kent and Winchester came with a great power to *reenforce* the siege.'

10–27. A soliloquy intended to inform the audience of the views and character of Kent. History does not hint at any difference of opinion between him and Mortimer at this time, so soon after he joined the confederates. Compare Introduction, p. xvi. Kent has taken a moderate, or middle, course. He is the opponent of the Spensers, eager to free the King from evil advisers. He left the King because of the bad government, joined the Queen and the party of the exiled Barons to reform the evils. See v. 2. 97. He has no selfish aims, so he becomes an object of suspicion to Mortimer and the Queen. His dislike of their aims and doings is natural, for they are no right representatives of the patriotic barons. Mortimer developes into as haughty and selfish a person as Gaveston and the Spensers.

14. *of all unkind*, most unnatural of all.

22. See Introd. p. xii.

25. *Longshanks*. See note on iii. 2. 12.

26. *suspect*, i.e. be not found walking alone, because of suspicion against you. Compare Drayton, Polyolbion, xxiv. 231:

'Who out of false *suspect* was by her brother slain.'

35. *Lord Warden*. Compare Holinshed, p. 339: 'There was the Lord Edward Prince of Wales . . . made Warden of England . . . unto whome all men as to the lord Warden of the realme made fealtie.' He never was Prince of Wales. On the same day that the elder Spenser was hanged at Bristol, the bishops and barons of the Queen's party, by assent of the whole 'communitas' of the realm, elected young Edward 'custos' in the name of his father, during his absence. See p. 87.

36. *infortunate*. 'Unfortunate' is now used. The prefixes, English *un-* and Latin *in-*, were and are used without accurate distinction. When a word is decidedly and plainly Latin in its shape, the prefix *in-* is usual; when the word has become fully adopted as an English word it often takes the English *un-*, much in the same way as foreign words after a time take English inflexions. Elizabethan writers more frequently used the liberty of employing both forms; thus *un*possible, and *im*possible, *un*constant and *in*constant, *un*capable and *in*capable. Modern English usually retains one form only, but otherwise is scarcely more regular; it has *in*gratitude and *un*grateful, *in*digestible and *un*digested, *in*certitude and *un*certain, *im*perfect and *un*perfected, *in*decisive and *un*decided.

41. *what Edward?* The Prince thinks him disrespectful. Compare Richard II, iii. 3. 6–8 :

> '*North.* Richard not far from hence hath hid his head.
> *York.* It would beseem the Lord Northumberland
> To say "King Richard."'

43. *what needs these questions.* The construction is not very clear; probably the real grammar of the phrase is 'what (i. e. why) does it need these questions?' 'what need is there of these questions?'—'needs' being used impersonally.

54. This line is given to Kent by the edition of 1598; and (if it belongs to him) marks a strongly expressed attempt on his part to throw off the suspicion which Mortimer and the Queen were beginning to feel towards him; compare lines 21, 26–7, 47. Dyce has assigned the line to Mortimer; and it suits his character better. Mr. Bullen has 'not changed the prefix of the old editions.'

60. *Catiline.* The great conspirator at Rome in the days of Cicero. The simile is not good, as Catiline was not a minister or a King's favourite, nor did he have opportunity of revelling in the national wealth and treasury. The allusion to him is merely general abuse.

69. *started.* Compare iii. 2. 127.

72. *what resteth,* what remains? Lat. *restare,* to stay, remain.

79. *prince,* the king, the ruler of the land.

81. *Rice ap Howel.* Holinshed, p. 339, relates that 'lord Henrie Earle of Leicester, and the lord William de la Zouche and one Rice ap Howell that was latelie delivered out of the Tower where he was prisoner' were sent by the Queen into Wales 'to see if they might find means to apprehend the King by help of their acquaintance in those parts, all three of them having lands thereabouts' . . . 'and so they took him in the monastery of Neith.' Capgrave, p. 196, calls him 'Maister Keson Uphowel' [perhaps an editor's misreading for Reson]. Adam of Murimuth calls him Resus; Polydore Vergil calls him Rhesus. He had belonged to the Barons' party, and had surrendered with Sir Maurice Berkeley and others in 1322.

83. *of countenance,* of importance.

84. *runagates,* fugitives, runaways from proper authority. The word is usually equivalent to rebels. Compare Psalm lxviii. 6 (Prayer-book) 'letteth the *runagates* continue in scarceness,' where the Auth. Vers. has 'the rebellious.' Latimer, Remains, p. 434, renders Isaiah xxx. 1, '*runagate* children,' for the Latin 'filiis contumacibus.' In the use of this word there has been, probably, a confusion between two distinct formations. The word is historically from the Latin *renegatus,* a heretic, recreant, one who has broken his word, a deserter. Compare 'Secta illorum *renegatorum* qui excommunicati . . . fuerunt apud Oxeneforde.'

Assize of Clarendon, Stubbs, Documents, p. 139. It was spelt *renegate*, as in Maundevile, p. 84, of the Emperor Julian, who 'was cristened, but he forsoke his law, and became a Renegate.' So Chaucer, Man of Law's Tale, 933; Gower, Confessio Amantis, i. p. 196; Coventry Mysteries, p. 384, 'ony renogate.' 'The Jewes lyke *ronnagates* where soever they dwell,' Latimer, Serm. 3. The Italian or Spanish *renegado* brought in a new word *renegade*; while the meaning of the older word settled into the sense of 'a deserter,' and seemed to connect it with the verb to 'run' (old form 'rennen'), and so it came to be spelt 'runagate,' as if from the two English words 'run' and 'agate,' i. e. 'on gate,' 'away.' The word 'runaway' occurs in Robinson's translation of More's Utopia, p. 269: 'he is brought again for a fugitive, or a runaway, with great shame.'

Scene VI.

4. *suspect*, suspicion; compare iv. 5. 26.

13. *Whilom*, once, formerly, in times past. 'While,' was and is properly a substantive, as in the phrase 'a great while': from it were formed several adverbs; from the accusative case '*while*'; from the genitive '*whiles*,' which has been corrupted into '*whilst*'; from the dative plural *whilom*. In Scottish the form '*whiles*' remains, but with the meaning 'at times' as if it were a plural rather than a singular possessive. The same change has taken place in the meaning of 'sometimes.' Compare Tancock, Grammar, p. 82; and note on 'sith,' iv. 2. 61.

14. *empery*, empire; Lat. *imperium*. This form of the word was common, but it is not now used. Compare Henry V, i. 2. 226:

'Ruling in large and ample *empery*.'

Drayton, Mortimeriados, p. 310:

'And he which may command an *empery*,
Yet can he not intreat his liberty.'

19. Compare ii. 2. 240. Although Greek was not much known in England, Plato, and still more Aristotle, were read, mostly in translations, at the Universities during the Middle Ages. In the Dialogus de Scaccario, one says, 'qui subtilium rerum fugam appetunt, habent Aristotelem et libros Platonicos, audiant illos. Tu scribe non subtilia, sed utilia.' (12th cent.) Chaucer, Prologue, 293–5, says of the Clerk of Oxenford,

'For him was levere have at his beddes heede
Twenty bookes, clad in blak or reede,
Of *Aristotle* and his philosophie,
Then robes riche, or fithele, or gay sawtrie.'

Compare Dr. Faustus, i. 1. 5:

'And live and die in *Aristotle's* works.'

In Caxton's Reynard the Fox, p. 78, Dame Rukenaw, the ape, speaking of evil judges, says they 'seme as though they were wiser than Salamon, Auycene or *Aristotiles*.'

26. *sit secure*, free from care; Lat. *securus*. Compare Judges xviii. 7: 'They dwelt careless after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and *secure*.'

Milton, Par. Lost, i. 638:

'But he who reigns
Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one *secure*
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute
Consent or custom.'

27. *do wot*, do know; from the irregular verb 'to wit,' 'I wot,' 'I wist.' This should be, in correct English, 'if none but we do *wit*,' for 'do' is followed by the infinitive, and that is in Early English *witan*, in later English *wit*. See Tancock, Gram. p. 73. The error arises from a forgetfulness of the irregularity of this verb; 'we hit,' or 'we do hit,' 'we trot,' or 'we do trot,' are correct with the form of the verb alike in indicative and infinitive, but 'I wot,' indicative, and 'I do wit,' infinitive, have two different forms contrary to the usual habit of the language. Mr. W. Morris, in his translation of Virgil, Aeneids, i. 392, ii. 149, iii. 397, has, among many Elizabethan idioms, used this (possibly for rime's sake):

'Unless my parents learned me erst of soothsaying *to wot*
But idly.'

With this may be compared the change from the correct 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. *wot*, as 'God wot,' to the incorrect but apparently more regular 'wotteth' or 'wots.' Compare Genesis xxxix. 8 (Wicliffite), 'My lord *woot* not what he hath in his hows'; (A.V.) 'my master *wotteth* not what is with me in the house.' The participle *iwis* became a verb in the indicative mood (*I wis*) because its irregular participial form ceased to be recognised. See note on iii. 2. 152.

28. *shrewdly*, here 'strongly'—just as in the modern phrase.

30. *'A*, he. See iv. 2. 7.

34. *sore*. A disyllable. See note on i. 1. 111. Dyce inserts 'with' before 'sore,' and reads it as a monosyllable.

40. *mickle*, much. It is the north-country or harder form; *much* is the southern and softer. Compare *dyke* and *ditch*, *poke* and *pouch*. *Mickle* is now considered to be Scottish; but was used by Spenser and Shakespeare. The intermediate form *muchell* also occurs, as in Spenser, Faery Queene, i. 4. 46.

50. *cannot*, cannot do. The verb *can*, meaning first 'to know,

passed into the sense of 'to be able'; it was also used absolutely, as in this passage, like *potest* in Latin; a further change reduced the verb entirely to the position of an auxiliary requiring another verb to be expressed with it, as 'she can do,' 'she can effect.' Compare Tancock, Gram. p. 75.

52. *reave*, take away, steal. The compound *be-reave*, *bereft*, is more usual.

53. *Quem*. See note on i. 1. 21. Dyce points out that the quotation is from Seneca, Thyestes, 613.

55. *leave*, cease. We use 'leave' with a present participle, 'cease' either with a participle or an infinitive.

Ib. passionate, compassionate. See note on ii. 2. 3.

58. *stand not on*, attach not importance to. Compare Julius Cæsar, ii. 2. 13:

'Cæsar, I never *stood on* ceremonies.'

61–2. *O day the last*. The last day on which he had the bliss of being king, in power, at liberty, with friends; that same day is the day round which all misfortunes, loss of crown, power, liberty, life, and friends, have gathered as round a centre. Compare note on iii. 1. 4.

70. *yearns*, is sad to see, is affected at seeing. Compare Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, iv. 1:

'Alas, poor wretch, how *it yearns* my heart for him.'

Julius Cæsar, ii. 2. 129 (see note in Clar. Press ed.):

'That every like is not the same, O Cæsar,
The heart of Brutus *yearns* to think upon.'

The edition of 1598 read *earns*, which is a form of the same word.

81. *Killingworth*. The castle in Warwickshire which is usually called Kenilworth. Marlowe uses Holinshed's spelling. Fabyan spells Kenelworthe. Stow uses both forms. The First Part of the Contention, sc. xv. 17, has 'Killingworth.'

90. This is the reading of ed. 1598; the repetition of the words 'and these' is awkward, though probably they refer to Spenser and Baldock on the one hand, and to the Abbot and Monks on the other. Dyce omits the second 'and these,' and inserts 'hapless' before Edward to fill out the line, which he has made imperfect. The 'and these,' in line 91, are Spenser and Baldock.

93. *shorten by the heads*. Compare Richard II, iii. 3. 13:

'He would
Have been so brief with you, *to shorten* you,
For taking so the head, your whole *head's* length.'

94. *that* combines the force of antecedent and relative. Compare 'that that,' v. 4. 56; Tancock, Gram. p. 54. In modern English 'what' is used in such phrases, and it now admits no antecedent. The

idiom is well illustrated by various renderings of St. John xix. 22: '*that that* I have writun, I have writun' (Wiclif); *what* I have written, *that* have I written'; (Tyndale); '*what* I have written, I have written' (A.V.).

96. *weeds*, clothes. The word remains in the phrase 'widow's weeds.' Drayton speaks of 'a palmer's weed,' 'a religious weed.' The King was disguised as a monk, and now throws off his disguise.

101. *Rent*. The form *rent* for *rend* is common in Elizabethan writers.

Compare v. i. 140; 2 Tamburlaine, i. 3. 159:

'When Boreas *rents* a thousand swelling clouds.'

Drayton's Mortimeriados, 263:

'*Renting* the thick clouds with a thunderstorm.'

Rent as a present tense occurred several times in the A. V. though it has been altered in modern copies. The Sealed Book (of Common Prayer) also had 'rent your hearts,' and it is found in the copies of Baskett's large edition of 1742. Other verbs also present the same form, as *engirt* for *engird* in v. 1. 46. The origin of the forms seems to be that the termination of the past tense in *-t* and *-d* when the *-ed* is not sounded as a separate syllable has appeared irregular, and a more regular ending has been added. Thus 'graff,' 'graft,' has produced a new verb 'graft,' 'graft-ed'; so 'hoise,' 'hoist,' a new verb 'hoist,' 'hoisted'; 'wone,' a new verb 'wont,' 'wonted,' and we have 'swounded' (Julius Cæsar, i. 2. 247); see note on i. 2. 10. The provincial forms 'bursted,' 'losted,' 'drownded,' should be referred to the same origin. Gascoigne, Philomela, p. 117, speaks of 'his *forgalded* sides.' Compare The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, xx. 45:

'Thus still our fortune gives us victorie,
And *girts* our temples with triumphant joies.'

116. *remember*, in the modern sense, 'reward.'

ACT V.

Scene I.

The scene is at Killingworth (line 2), whither the Earl of Leicester had taken the King, iv. 6, 81, 98, 'where he remained the whole winter.' Holinshed, p. 339. The deputation was a large one, and included the Bishops of Winchester and Hereford and Lincoln, the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, according to Holinshed, p. 340; but he does not mention Sir William Trussell here. Fabyan, p. 431, says

he was there; 'with the procuratoure of that parlyament Sir Willyam Trussell.' Stow does not speak of him at all.

2. 3, *were . . . lay*, past tenses, here expressing an impossible case.

9. *the forest deer.* Dyce quotes a passage from Sylvester's Du Bartas, 1st week, 3rd day:

'Candian dittany,
Which wounded deer eating immediately,
Not only cures their wounds exceeding well,
But 'gainst the shooter doth the shaft repel.'

It is likely that Marlowe had in mind Virgil, Aeneid xii. 412–415:

'Dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida,
. . . . . .
. . . non illa feris incognita capris
Gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae'

(a passage borrowed from Aristotle, Hist. An. ix. 6. 1); for he adds a contrast with the lion, which is probably from Virgil, Aeneid xii. 4–8:

'Poenorum qualis in arvis,
Saucius ille gravi venantum vulnere pectus,
Tum demum movet arma leo, gaudetque comantis
Excutiens cervice toros, fixumque latronis
Impavidus frangit telum, et fremit ore cruento.'

18. *mew'd*, shut. Fr. *muer*, Lat. *mutare*, 'to change.' The technical meaning was to change plumage, to moult; moulting birds were carefully shut up. 'A mewe' was a place for moulting birds, an outhouse or yard where birds were kept during moulting time, then any yard, or enclosed place, or a prison, from its likeness to a cage. The stables also were in the yard, and as hawking died out the old meaning was lost and the word came to mean 'stables,' 'stable-yard'; the plural is now used in London, as a singular 'a mews,' a stable-yard. Compare Drayton, Mortimeriados, p. 256:

'Whilst in the Tower the Mortimers are *mew'd*.'

19. *such . . . As.* See note on i. 4. 259.

22. *plain.* See note on iii. 2. 158.

Ib. to the gods. So he appeals to 'immortal Jove,' line 143. See note on iii. 2. 128.

30. *unconstant*, inconstant. See note on iv. 5. 36.

32. *cave of care*, prison. The fact that prisoners were often confined in underground stone vaults or dungeons will account for this use of the word. The derivation of 'gaol'—It. *gaiola*, Lat. *caveola*, dim. of *cava*—may be compared. A similar use of the word is found in The Mobiad, by A. Brice, quoted in Notes and Queries, 5 Ser. x. p. 276:

'Ten cashless Debtors in that dreary *Cave*
Yclep'd the Shoe more free a breathing have.'

38. *Winchester.* The Bishop of Winchester at this time was John Stratford, who had been a clerk of the council. The Pope had nominated him to the bishopric in June 1323. Edward was angry, for he wanted to have his chancellor Baldock appointed, and did not admit Stratford to the temporalities of the see for a year. Stratford took his revenge, for when he was sent as ambassador to France, 1324–5, he fell in with the plan of overthrowing the Spensers. After failing to mediate between the two parties in London, he was with the Queen at Bristol, and agreed to the proclamation of the young Edward as Guardian of the realm; see note on iv. 5. 35. He was sent to the King to get his consent to his son's election, and 'Edward yielded at once.' See Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 355–362. He was treasurer from November 1326 to January 1327, and became chancellor under the young King November 1330, after the fall of Mortimer. Compare p. 88.

44. *quenchless,* unquenchable. Steevens refers to the crown given by Medea to Creusa, Euripides, Medea, 1160.

45. *Tisiphon.* Compare Virgil, Aeneid, vi. 571:

'Tisiphone . . . . . torvosque sinistra
Intentans anguis.'

46. *engirt,* engird, encircle. See note on iv. 6. 101.

47. *England's vine.* Compare Richard II, i. 2. 13–21.

57. *take my crown.* Compare Richard II, iv. 1. 180:

'Give me the crown. Here, cousin, seize the crown.'

76. *fondly,* foolishly.

77. *pass.* See note on i. 4. 142.

84. *Trussell.* Sir William Trussell, as proctor for the whole parliament, which met on January 7, 1327, while the King was a prisoner at Kenilworth, renounced homage and fealty to the King, January 20, after the King's consent to the election of his son had been received; see note on line 1, and page 91.

86. Compare Holinshed, p. 340: 'The king being sore troubled . . . was brought into a marvellous agonie, but in the end . . . . he determined to follow their advise.'

92. *shall,* is sure to; a threat that Mortimer should take the crown. Compare Holinshed, p. 340: 'They sought to frame his mind so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused so to do, the people in respect of the evill will which they had conceived against him, would not faile but proceed to the election of some other that should happilie not touch him in lineage.'

109. *enthronizèd,* enthroned. Compare Holinshed, p. 343, 'the young Kings *inthronizing*.' Shakespeare always has 'enthroned.' Marlowe is fond of the termination *-ize,* as *eternize, royalize, scandalize, canonize,*

quoted by Professor Ward on Dr. Faustus, i. 1. 15. Professor Earle, Philology, p. 258, gives a large number of modern instances, and says 'the formative *-ize* is comparatively modern'; but it would not be difficult to show that it was 'a formative' very popular in Elizabethan literature: Taylor the water-poet is fond of it a little later; as, 'wherein his Ryming .... is anagrammatized, anatomized, and stigmatized'; and 'because I have a smack of Coryat-izing.'

115. *protect*, be Protector of. Compare v. 2. 12. The King's fear for his son and love for him are delicately used to draw the sympathy of the audience and to prevent his complaints from being too wearisome and unmanly. The remembrance of the later Protector, Richard Duke of Gloucester, would give an especial point to the words as they fell on the ears of the audience.

133. *devoir*, duty. Fr. *devoir*: Lat. *debere*, to owe. The same word with a varied spelling occurs in 'endeavour.'

134. *Berkeley*. Leicester had joined the Queen as soon as she landed, but never took a strong part against Edward II personally. Berkeley had a more decided grudge against the King, for he had been dispossessed of his castle by the Despensers and imprisoned at Wallingford. The Queen on her way to Bristol had passed by Berkeley and restored the castle to the rightful heir. See p. 89.

140. *rent*. See note on iv. 6. 101. This passion, shown in the unavailing tearing of the writ, may be compared with the passion of Richard II as he dashes the looking-glass to pieces. Compare Richard II, iv. 1. 228.

143. *immortal Jove*. See note on line 22.

148. 'Even so may fate befall my soul.' May I be treated as I treat him.

149. *estate*, state, condition. So in the phrase 'all estates of men.' See note on ii. 4. 22.

153. Compare Julius Cæsar, ii. 2. 32–37:

> 'The valiant never taste of death but once.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Seeing that death, a necessary end,
> Will come when it will come.'

Scene II.

2. *light-brain'd*. Compare i. 1. 125.

3. *lofty gallows*. Compare Holinshed, p. 339: 'the saide Earle was drawne and hanged on a paire of gallowes of fiftie feet in heigth.' Capgrave, Chron. p. 197: 'hanged of a galow that was fifty fote in heith.' 'Simon Reding was hangid on the same tree ten fete lowere.'

7. *wolf.* Wagner's note is, 'The allusion is to the Greek proverb, τὸν λύκον τῶν ὤτων ἔχω.' 'The wolf' is the realm of England. Compare Drayton, Mortimeriados, p. 253 :

'He's mad which takes a Lyon by the eares.'

11. *to erect your son*, to make him king.

17. *so*, if. See note on i. 1. 9.

21. *hear* is to be read as a disyllable. See note on i. 1. 111. Cunningham spoils the line by insertion of *that* before 'he.' Wagner inserts *the* before 'news,' which is not so unrhythmical though quite unnecessary.

27. *sirrah.* This form instead of 'sir' is used in anger or disdain. It is made by a burring or extension of the *r*; it remains in the American form 'sirree.'

30. *or*, ere, before. Compare Daniel vi. 24, '*or* ever they came at the bottom of the den.'

32. This plot is from Holinshed, p. 341, who mentions a secret plot in 1327 which came to nothing. See note on v. 3. 50.

34. Compare Holinshed, p. 341 : 'But forsomuch as the Lord Berkley used him more courteouslie than his adversaries wished him to doo he was discharged of that office.'

36. The Queen does not mind showing her true character to the Bishop of Winchester—who is in the confidence of Mortimer and the Queen. But the poet has here assigned a part to him which Holinshed gives to the Bishop of Hereford, for he does not seem to have been an accomplice in the murder. Popular opinion ascribed this to Adam Orlton, bishop of Hereford, who, like Stratford of Winchester, had been placed in the see by the Pope in opposition to the King, and was an enemy of the King, and, unlike Stratford, a creature of Mortimer. See note on v. 4. 6.

41. *none . . . shall know.* This was really carried out, as may be inferred from the fact that though the King was murdered on September 21, 1327, the Earl of Kent was induced to believe that he was alive in the winter of 1329–30, when he made his plot. Compare Holinshed, p. 340, 'at length they thought it should not be knowne whither they had conveied him . . . and so at length they brought him back againe in secret manner unto the castle at Berkley.'

45. Compare Lady Macbeth's estimate of her husband's character, Macbeth, i. 5. 19–23 :

'Would'st not play false,
And yet would'st wrongly win; thou'ldst have, great Glamis,
That which cries "Thus thou must do, if thou have it;"
And that which rather thou dost fear to do
Than wishest should be undone.'

47. *ourself.* Mortimer adopts the style of a King, 'ourself,' 'we,' 'our' name. Compare Macbeth, ii. 1. 22, where Macbeth uses the kingly 'we' to Banquo, when he had made up his mind to the murder.

54. *neither* is out of place. 'Give him neither kind word.' See note on ii. 3. 28.

57. *casts*, plots. See note on ii. 3. 8.

58. Holinshed, p. 340: 'still removing with him in the night season.' See note on line 41.

62. *curstly*, crossly. Wagner quotes Taming of the Shrew, i. 2. 70, 'as *curst* and shrewd as Socrates' Xanthippe.'

71. Compare Holinshed, p. 341: 'the Queene would send unto him courteous and loving letters with apparell and other such things but she would not once come neere to visit him bearing him in hand that she durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure.'

73. *dissembled.* See Introd. p. xii.

86. *protector.* Compare line 12. Kent did not come into a prominent position during these times. Henry of Leicester and Lancaster was 'regis custos,' the nominal guardian of the young Edward for a time.

89. This instance of the Queen's dissembling is from Holinshed, p. 348: 'but the Duke of Aquitaine when he perceived that his mother tooke the matter heavilie in appearance, for that her husband should be thus deprived of the crowne, he protested that he would never take it on him without his father's consent.' Hence the resignation in Scene 1.

97. *Inconstant Edmund.* See v. 1. 30: Mortimer gives him his true character. See note on iv. 5. 10.

107. *youngling*, a diminutive form. See Tancock, Gram. p. 88. As is often the case with diminutives, it is here used with a tone of contempt. Compare Jew of Malta, i. 1:

'Here have I purst their paltry *silverlings*.'

The word is used in no contemptuous sense in the Testament of St. Francis (15th cent.) in the Monumenta Franciscana, p. 565:

'Your *yongelynge* and your pour servant';

and in the Wicliffite version, Genesis xxxiv. 19, of Shechem, 'ne the *yonglynge* tariede.' Compare Spenser, Faery Queene, i. 10. 57.

Ib. *'sdain'st*, disdainest, dost thou feel scorn of; Ital. *sdegnare*, Lat. *dedignari*. The verb is here used with the construction of the kindred substantive 'disdain of.' The clipped form of the word is common; compare Milton, Par. Lost, iv. 50: 'I 'sdained subjection.' Other like forms occur, ''sdainful' in Spenser; ''sperst' for 'dispersed,' Spenser; ''strest' for 'distrest,' ''scern' for 'discern,' ''stinctly' for 'distinctly,' are also quoted in Guest, History of English Rhythms, i. 38.

112. *redeem*, pay him back to me, hand him over to me.

116. *aged.* Compare v. 3. 23, 'old Edward.' The King Edward II

cannot be called 'old' or 'aged' at this time with strict accuracy. He was born in 1284, hence at the time of his capture in 1326, was 42, or of his death in 1327, about 43. Probably the poet was careless of dates, or perhaps finding the phrase 'the old Edward' in his authorities,—as, Holinshed, p. 341, 'did renounce the *old King*'; Stow, p. 354, 'Isabel the queen being persuaded that the Earl of Leicester too much favoured the *old King* her husband'—who meant the 'elder' Edward, he took it as an expression of age. Shakespeare, Richard II, i. 1. 1, when John of Gaunt was 58 years of age, calls him

'Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster,'

and always speaks of him as if he were a very old man. See note on iii. 2. 34.

Scene III.

3. *dalliance*, idle delay. Compare Tennyson, Queen Mary, iii. 4, p. 154:

'Our good Queen's cousin dallying over seas
Even when his brother's, nay, his noble mother's,
Head fell.'

6. *nightly bird*, the owl.

8. *assuage*, grow mild. The verb is now transitive, 'to make mild,' as in the only passage in which Shakespeare uses it, Coriolanus, v. 2. 71: 'The good gods *assuage* thy wrath.'

10. *unbowel*; 'disembowel' is now used instead of this form.

12. *level*. See note on iii. 3. 88.

13. A line of four feet; 'only' has been needlessly inserted at the beginning by Dyce, to mend the metre of an imperfect line.

16. *air of life*, breath of life, a translation of the Latin 'aura vitae,' as Dyce points out.

19. *dungeon*. Here and in scene 5 the King is supposed to be confined in a vault or dark underground cell—the prison of the castle. In this passage the King would seem to be describing Berkeley dungeon, from which he was to be moved to Killingworth; compare scene 2, lines 58–60, and line 48 of this scene. An older spelling was *donjon*, Old Fr. *donjon*, *domnion*, Lat. *dominionem*, the dominating or strongest tower of a fortress. The strongest tower was naturally the secure prison. Compare Chaucer, Knightes Tale:

'The grete tour, that was so thikke and strong,
Which of the castel was the chief *dongeoun*.'

The same idea remains in the phrase 'the dungeon keep.' As castles came to be less fortified and made more comfortable for living in, the prisoners' rooms were removed out of the way, and at last placed under-

ground, the old name 'dungeon' being kept. The 'loathsome dungeon' of 1 Henry VI, ii. 5. 57, and 'airless dungeon' of Julius Cæsar, i. 3. 94, give the impression of an underground prison, usual in Elizabethan times.

22. *rents.* See notes on i. 4. 133, iv. 6. 101, and on line 37.

23. *old.* See note on v. 2. 116.

26. *excrements.* The word is sometimes from Lat., *ex-cresco*, anything 'growing out'; hence it is used for 'hair' in Hamlet, iii. 4. 118:

'Your bedded *hair*, like life in *excrements*,
Start up and stand on end.'

Love's Labour's Lost, v. i. 89: 'And with his royal finger, thus, dally with my *excrement*, with my *mustachio*.' Here it is probably used in the modern sense 'filth,' 'ordure,' from *excerno*, to separate, as in Timon of Athens, iv. 3. 437:

'A composure stolen
From general *excrement*.'

28. This story of the shaving is not in Holinshed, but is probably taken from Stow. In the edition of 1580 it occurs on p. 356: 'Moreover diuising by all meanes to disfigure him that hee mighte not be knowen, they determined to shave as well the heare off hys heade as also off his bearde, wherefore comming by a little water whiche ranne in a ditche, they commaunded him to alighte from his horsse to be shaven; to whomme being set on a Mole-hill, a Barbour came with a Bason of colde water taken out of the ditch, to whom Edwarde said, shall I have no warme water? The Barber answered, this wyll serve; quoth Edward, will ye or nil yee, I will have warme water; and that he might keepe his promise, he beganne to weepe and to shed tears plentifullye' (as it was reported by William Byshop to Sir Thomas de la More, Knight).' Stow translated this from de la More's History, which was afterwards printed in Camden's 'Anglica, Normannica,' &c., p. 602, ed. 1603. His words are: 'Ita mihi retulit vivens post magnam pestilentiam Gulielmus Bisschop, qui ductoribus Edwardi sodalis, unde confessus et contritus poenituit, sub spe misericordiae divinae.' The event took place at 'Smischam,' in a marsh by the Severn on the way from Bristol to Gloucester; the party had diverged from the high road. Marlowe however places it at the Castle.

37. *knows.* The edition of 1598 reads *knowes*, as if 'that' were the subject of the verb; so in line 38 *waits* for the same reason, and in line 40, *wrongs*. Dyce has altered the words, and modern editors have followed him; see note on i. 4. 133. Editors have in like manner altered many like passages in Shakespeare to suit modern grammar. Compare Richard II, ii. 3. 5, note (Clar. Press ed.).

50. The well-known plot of the Earl of Kent belongs to the year

1330. He was persuaded that Edward II was still alive, and he began to plan to restore him to the throne. Parliament met at Winchester, March 11, 1330, Mortimer had Kent arrested, tried by his peers, and beheaded on March 19. See Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 372. The particulars here given are of the poet's own imagination, but he has brought forward his plot, and by putting it in the place of the short notice of 'a secret plot' which he found in Holinshed, p. 341, he has used his materials with great dramatic effect. See note on v. 2. 32.

Scene IV.

6. *This letter.* Professor Ward, Hist. of Dram. Lit. i. 198, notices that the story of the ambiguous Latin line is 'taken from a contemporary account of Thomas de la Moor who was an eyewitness of Edward II's resignation.' Marlowe, however, no doubt took it from Holinshed, iii. p. 341: 'Withall the bishop of Hereford [Adam Orlton; see note on v. 2. 36] under a sophisticall forme of words signified to them by his letters that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obscuritie ran thus:

Eduardum occidere nolite timere bonum est

which riddle or doubtfull kind of speech, as it might be taken in two contrarie senses onelie by placing the point in orthographie called coma, they construed in the worst sense, putting the comma after *timere*.' The notice of a 'friend' and the word 'unpointed,' and the doubtful 'construing' show the source of the poet's knowledge. Holinshed, here as in many places, as the margin shows, uses 'Thomas de la More' as his source of information. His words are, p. 602, 'Hic vigebat sophistarum fallacia accensa per Episcopum [the bishop of Hereford] qui scripsit *Edvardum occidere nolite timere, bonum est.* Quod illi in perversam partem interpretati sunt.' He says the letter was sealed by the Queen Isabella, the Bishop, and other conspirators. Stow, Chronicle, p. 357, translates the passage, 'the great deceyte of Sophisters stoode in force, set downe by the Bishoppe of Hereforde who wrote thus . . .

"Kyl Edward do not fear it is a good thing;"

or thus:

"To seek to shed King Edward's blood
Refuse to feare I counte it good."'

8. With this may be compared the answer of the oracle,

'Aio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse.'

The use of a letter with its meaning varying according to the pointing or position of the stops is not uncommon in plays. Much of the fun

of the comedy Ralph Roister Doister arises from a love-letter which can be read in two senses, Act iii. 4. 41, and Act iii. 5. 53. Compare The Players' prologue in A Midsummer Night's Dream, v. 1. 108.

14 *being dead*, i. e. 'he being dead.' An absolute case.

16. *quit*, acquitted. From the Latin adjective *quietus* have come 'quit,' 'quite,' and the adjective 'quiet,' all, at one time, equivalent, though their meanings have now been marked off. We have still 'acquit' and 'requite.' The word 'quit' or 'quite' is very frequently at the foot of old accounts where 'settled' is now written; 'quietus est' and 'debet' are 'he is clear,' 'he is in debt.' So in a charter of Henry II the words occur, 'cives . . . sint *quieti* de omni thelonio, passagio, et consuetudine.'

21. The murderer is the creation of the poet.

24. *cast*, considered, thought. See note on ii. 3. 8.

27. *use*. We do not now employ the present tense of this verb in this idiom, expressing habit; but only the past tense 'I used.'

31. *Naples*. This speech, with its allusions to Italy and the various modes of murder, belongs to the poet's own days. See note on i. 1. 52.

Ib. poison. Fr. *poison*, Lat. *potionem*, a draught; then by euphemism for 'a draught that will kill.' The word became more general in its meaning, and was used as a verb without reference to drinking. In the 16th century poisoning was a fashionable crime, and many ingenious modes of poisoning a person at a distance were tried, as by presents of gloves, flowers, &c. Several such attempts were made on Queen Elizabeth. Compare Jew of Malta, iii. 5. 62–100, iv. 5. 110–115:

> 'How sweet, my Ithamore, the flowers smell.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The scent whereof was death: I poisoned it.'

Massacre at Paris, i. 2. 13–17:

> *Guise.* 'Where are those perfumed gloves, which late I sent
> To be poisoned? Hast thou done them? Speak—
> Will every savour breed a pang of death?
> *Apothec.* See where they be, my lord: and he that smells
> But to them, dies.'

In the same play, iii. 4, the King is stabbed with a poisoned knife.

32. *a lawn*, a piece or strip of linen, a ribbon. There was a species of torture in which a man was bound tightly to a frame, his nostrils were plugged, and a jet of water was sent down his throat carrying with it a strip of linen, which was drawn out from time to time to prevent complete suffocation. Cf. Engl. Hist. Review, April 1889, p. 237. Such a mode of stopping the breath would have left no mark. For a notice of a different kind of water torture, compare Aurora Leigh, p. 17.

37. *braver*, better, finer, more cunning.

47. *the queen do I command.* Compare Holinshed, p. 340, 'without him the queene in all these matters did nothing.'

48. *congé*, bow, leave, permission. Fr. *congé*, Lat. *comiatus*, *commeatus*, leave, permission.

53. *Aristarchus.* The great grammarian and commentator on the Homeric poems. He lived at Alexandria about the middle of the second century, B.C. He was a severe critic, hence his name became proverbial for a 'severe critic,' and is so used by Cicero. Compare 'meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es'—'of which you are a severe critic.' Epist. ad Atticum, i. 14.

54. *breeching*, flogging. Compare The Humorous Lieutenant, iv. 4:

> 'With sighs as though his heart would break;
> Cry like a *breeched* boy, not eat a bit.'

55. *protectorship.* Compare v. 1. 115. The character here assigned to Mortimer is probably coloured by the poet's recollection of the character and behaviour of Richard Duke of Gloucester between the death of Edward IV and his own accession to the throne. Compare Shakespeare's representation of him in Richard III, iii. 7.

56. *that that.* See note on iv. 6. 94.

58. *bashful puritan.* This is a curious anachronism. The word was a slang term or nickname, which in the poet's own days had not been long in use. He calls the French Protestants 'Puritans' in The Massacre at Paris, ii. 4. 55. Compare Pericles, iv. 6. 8, 'she would make a *Puritan* of the devil.' A 'Precisian' was also used for a Puritan, as in Dr. Faustus, i. 2. 26, 'I will set my countenance like a Precisian.' Compare *precise*, ii. 1. 46. We may compare the term 'lollard,' applied to King John by bishop Bale; see Introd. p. viii. Towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign a feud between the Puritans and the actors and play-writers raged. Ben Jonson, in Bartholomew Fair, introduces a Puritan, Zeal-of-the-land Busy, and holds him up to ridicule.

59. *imbecility*, weakness, want of power. The word is now used of want of mental power; an 'imbecile' person being a person of weak mind, a fool.

60. These are classical phrases. Cicero uses 'imbecillitas magistratuum,' the weakness of rulers; calls old age 'onus gravius'; and uses 'provinciam suscipere,' to undertake a duty.

65. *rules*: so the edition 1598. Dyce reads *rule*.

66. *Mine enemies.* This is a fair representation of what Mortimer did, and accounts for the quickness and ease with which he fell.

67. *dare.* In older English the third person sing. of this verb is 'dare,' but in later English a tendency is seen to make the verb 'regular,' and

we find 'dares' written. See Tancock, Gram. p. 73. Marlowe uses both forms: compare Massacre at Paris, i. 1. 36.

68. *major.* Dyce refers to Ovid, Metam. vi. 195.

69. *coronation-day.* The young King was crowned on Jan. 29, 1327.

72. The Parliament met on January 7. The young Edward was led into Westminster Hall and presented to the people. Archbishop Reynolds 'made a sermon' on 'the theame' 'Vox populi vox Dei,' and the people shouted applause of the young King. The Archbishop of York and Bishops of Carlisle, Rochester, and London, protested. Compare Richard II, iv. 1. 114, but no Baron made any opposition. Homage and fealty to Edward II were renounced, see note on v. 1. 84, and the staff of the steward of the household was broken on January 20, completing the deposition. Adam Orlton, Bishop of Hereford, became Treasurer in place of Stratford, and the Bishop of Ely became Chancellor, and all power rested with Mortimer.

76. *avouch*, defend. Fr. *voucher, avoucher*; Lat. *advocare*, to call to warrant or justify; so *advocatus*, one 'called to defend.' The form 'avow' is also used as if equivalent, 'vow' being really the Latin *vovere.*

77. *champion.* The Championship was an hereditary office; the owner of the manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, held that manor by grand sergeanty to perform the office of champion. The manor was in the Marmion family in the time of Edward III; it passed to Sir John Dymoke in 1377, whose descendant acted as champion at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

87. *martial law*, i.e. be tried as if with an army in the field. In reality Edmund of Kent was condemned by his peers in the Parliament. See note on v. 3. 50.

105. *none of both them*, no one of them thirsts. 'None' is here singular, as it distributes two persons only, and the verb should be singular; but it is made plural by the sense involved, which is 'they do not thirst,' a plural notion being expressed in the word 'both' which attracts the verb. See note on i. 4. 133.

111. *a hunting.* See note on ii. 1. 76.

113. *think not on.* We now generally use the preposition 'of' with the verb to think; but 'think on' is used, as in Yorkshire, to mean 'mind and do not forget.' 'On' and 'of' are often interchanged in Elizabethan English. See Abbott, § 181; we still have 'on purpose,' but 'of course,' 'he thought *of* it,' 'he spoke *of* it,' 'he dwelt *on* it.' Compare Dr. Faustus, i. 2. 15, 'Have you any witness *on't*,' and Professor Ward's note. Sheridan uses 'on' for 'of' as a careless or rustic expression. Compare Trip to Scarborough, iii. 1, 'the effects *on't*'; The Duenna, i. 3, 'I have no doubt *on't.*'

Scene V.

2. *a vault.* The poet somewhat increases the horror of the situation by his description of the vault or dungeon, and by representing the King as confined in it. Holinshed, p. 341, says: 'They lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber over a foul filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him with the abhominable stench thereof, but he bearing it out stronglie as a man of a tough nature, continued still in life.' Fabyan has no notice of the particulars of the death. Stow, Annales, p. 344, speaks of a 'chamber' with a cellar underneath, which contained dead bodies; here again copying the 'camera' with a 'subsolarium' beneath, of Thomas de la Moor, p. 603, who does not speak of the table, but does mention the bed.

9. *savour*, smell. Compare The Massacre at Paris, i. 1. 15:

'Will every *savour* breed a pang of death.'

Like the Latin *saporem*, from which it is derived, the word means both 'taste' and 'smell.' The verb 'savour' used to have the meaning 'to think' also, like the Latin *sapere*, as in St. Matthew xvi. 23; 'Thou *savourest* not the things of God,' a rendering kept by all versions following Wiclif.

16. *unpointed.* See note on v. 4. 6.

Ib. the nonce, the present, this one time. The phrase is a corruption of 'þan ænes,' 'for than anes,' or 'for then ones,' meaning 'for that, or the, one (time).' As the demonstrative pronoun gradually became uninflected, and the definite article 'the' came into general use, the *-n* of the old inflexion was not understood, and passed across from one word to the other. The same thing happened in the phrase 'that other,' which became 'the tother'; and in the phrase 'at than oke,' at the oak, which was corrupted into 'attan oke' and to 'a noke.' A similar *-n* from the article 'an' has changed an 'ewt' or 'eft' into a 'newt,' while the opposite change has deprived 'nædre' and 'naperon' of their first letter, and made them into 'an adder,' 'an apron.'

19. *token*, a proof that he is from Mortimer, a seal, or ring, perhaps, which might be recognised as belonging to Mortimer. Compare v. 2. 71: and the story of the ring given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex.

24. See v. 4. 43. The letter contained full instructions, and the words 'pereat iste' among them.

25. *here is the keys.* See note on i. 4. 133. The keys of the dungeon, and perhaps of the door or gate overlooking the lake, or moat, surrounding the castle, into which they pretend to think the King is to be thrown, as they threw Lightborn. Compare line 115, and Richard III, i. 4. 95: 'Here are the keys, there sits the Duke asleep.' Mr. Bullen

thinks the 'lake' is the dungeon; and also suggests a reading 'lock' for 'lake.'

30. *a spit.* The poet here is following the received story of the murder, which the audience knew well. Holinshed, p. 341: 'they thrust up into his bodie a hot spit.' Stow, p. 357: 'a plumber's iron.' Compare the story that Edmund Ironside was killed by an iron instrument, 'veru ferreum'; Hemingburgh, ii. 298, uses the words 'veru ferreo' in this case. The poet has wisely avoided representing on the stage the particulars of the horrible story, which no audience could have endured, and we hear no more of these preparations. We may compare the way in which Shakespeare just alludes to the common story of Clarence's death, Richard III, i. 4. 265:

'Take that, and that; if all this will not do,
I'll drown you in the malmsey butt within.'

32. *What else?* These words are omitted by Cunningham and Wagner.

37. Dyce says that 'a change of scene is supposed to the dungeon. The actor who personated Lightborn most probably drew a curtain and discovered the captive king': but see note on line 69.

51. *Caucasus*, hewn from hard rock. Compare Richard II, i. 3. 295:

'O, who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?'

57. *lest that*: 'that' is often found with conjunctions or adverbs that introduce a clause or sentence, as 'if that,' iv. 110; 'while that,' 'since that.' See Abbott, § 287. 'That' is not now so used, but remains in the phrases 'provided that,' 'seeing that.'

59. *being*, though I am; a Latinism.

65. *Tell Isabel.* This passage is remarkably like a passage in the First Part of the Contention of the two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, sc. iii. 59, in which the Queen speaks to Suffolk:

'I tell thee Poull, when thou didst runne at tilt,
And stolst away our Ladaies hearts in France.'

The incident is probably not historical, just as the incident of the rescue of the Black Prince in Richard II, ii. 3. 99.

69. *on this bed.* The stage arrangements in this scene are not very clear. There is no change of scene, though it has been thought that one was needed at line 37. There was no bed in the dungeon, and no notice is given of this having been brought on the stage. Probably the action is not in the dungeon, the murderer not going down; but the king comes out from it almost as soon as Lightborn lifts a curtain, looks down, and begins to talk to him. As he comes forth he says (line 53) 'this dungeon,' and having passed out, he turns (line 56) and says, 'there . . . have I stood.' The bed has been in the chamber and has not been

just now brought in. According to Holinshed, see note on line 2, the King had lived, and was murdered in the chamber above the dungeon. The traditional scene of the murder is a room in the round tower at Berkeley Castle; the King's 'chamber' being on the first floor, the cellar or 'vault' or 'dungeon' still existing.

70. *looks of thine.* See note on ii. 1. 17.

78. *stained.* See v. 4. 30–37, and line 39.

88. The reading of this line varies; Cunningham reads, a broken line, without remark:

'Gone, gone; and do I remain?'

Wagner reads:

'Gone, gone; and do I still remain alive?'

a regular line, which is feeble with 'I' unaccented, and 'still' accented, and with 'still' in a sense not usual in Elizabethan poets. The reading of ed. 1598 here adopted gives a far more striking rhythm with two solemn monosyllabic feet and an emphasis on 'I' opposed to 'crown' thus:

'Gone,/ gone;/ and do I/ remain/ alive?'/

89. *overwatched*, wearied out with watching, with wakefulness; *watch* is the softer form of *wake*, as *match* of *make*. Compare Julius Cæsar, iv. 3. 239:

'Poor knave, I blame thee not; thou art *o'erwatched*.'

98. This is the reading of the ed. of 1598. Dyce, following the ed. of 1622, reads:

'O let me not die yet; stay a while.'

100. *still*, always. See note on i. 1. 15.

108. *in a trice*, in an instant. Compare Twelfth Night, iv. 2. 133: King Lear, i. 1. 129, '*in this trice* of time.' Wedgwood, Dict. Etym., derives this expression from the Spanish *tris*, a crack, noise made in breaking, as if 'in a crack.' Mr. Skeat quotes the phrase *estar en un tris*.

Ib. table. See line 32. Compare Holinshed, p. 341, 'they came suddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed fast asleepe, and with heavie feather beds, with a table (as some would write) being cast upon him, they kept him down.' Stow, p. 357, does not speak of the table, but says 'rushing in upon him, as he lay in his bedde.'

111. *this cry.* There is a certain grim quaintness in the words of Holinshed, p. 341, 'His crie did moove many within the castell and towne of Berkeley to compassion,' so that 'diverse being awakened therewith . . . praied heartilie to God to receive his soule, when they understood by his crie what the matter ment.' 'Thus was King Edward murthered in the yeare 1327 on the 22 of September.'

112. *take horse and away.* Marlowe makes Gurney go to the young King and betray Mortimer to him, and Matrevis flee after seeing Mortimer. This is not the story which he found in Holinshed, but it helps to a quick and dramatic retribution which is needed, though not provided in the history. Holinshed, p. 341, 'The Queene, the bishop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the lord Matrevers, and Thomas Gourney, who flieng into Marcels, three yeares after being knowne, taken and brought toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the chiefe dooers, as the bishop and other. John Matrevers repenting himselfe laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentlie.'

Scene VI.

2. *undone.* Compare Macbeth, iii. 2. 12, v. 1. 67, and the feeling of one of the murderers of Clarence, Richard III, i. 4. 270.

9. *Fly to the savages.* The poet is probably thinking of the savages in America or some of the newly discovered lands, and so is putting an anachronism into the mouth of Mortimer. So he makes Collapine in 2 Tamburlaine, i. 2. 35, speak of 'armados'

'Fraughted with gold of rich America.'

10. *Jove's huge tree.* The oak. This is a very common classical allusion in the Elizabethan poets. Compare As You Like It, iii. 2. 218:

'*Cel.* I found him under a tree, like a dropped acorn.

Ros. It may be called *Jove's tree*, when it drops forth such fruit.'

The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, xx. 9:

'Whose top branch overpeered *Jove's spreading tree.*'

Virgil, Georgics, iii. 332, 'magna Jovis quercus.'

20. Here the history is compressed for dramatic purposes. The events of October 1330 are brought close to those of September 1327. The Scottish war, the young King's marriage, the Scottish treaty, the attempt of Lancaster to get rid of Mortimer, are left out. Compare Introd. p. xiii.

42. *hand.* He produces the letter, as if in the handwriting of Mortimer. This scarcely agrees with Holinshed, or with v. 4. 6, from which it is plain the letter was written by 'a friend.' *Hand* is 'handwriting.' Compare King Lear, i. 2. 56, 61:

'You know the character to be your brother's?
It is his *hand*, my lord.'

43. *betrayed.* See note on v. 5. 112.

44. *murder.* The proverb 'murder will out' occurs often in old writers. Compare Chaucer, Nonne Prestes Tale, 232:

'Mordre wil out, that se we day by day.'

So in the Prioresses Tale, 564; Merchant of Venice, ii. 2. 71, 'murder cannot be hid long'; Macbeth, iii. 4. 124; Hamlet, ii. 2. 575,

'For murder, though it hath no tongue, will speak,
With most miraculous organ.'

50. *hurdle.* Criminals were dragged to execution on a hurdle, or piece of wattle work. The word *hurdyce* (Lat. *hurdicium*, Fr. *hourdis*: compare Fr. *hourder*, Germ. *hürde*) was also used for a palisade or barricade. To be drawn, hanged, and quartered, was the punishment for treason; used to a much later date; compare Evelyn's Diary, Oct. 17, 1660, 'Scot, Scrope, Cook, and Jones suffered .... in sight of the place where they put to death their natural Prince. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters, mangled, and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle.' Mortimer was arrested at Nottingham castle in October 1330, brought to London, condemned by the Parliament which sat from November 26 to December 6, and hanged.

63. *as a traveller*; a simile very suitable to the poet's days, an age of great geographical discovery.

75. *I fear me.* See note on ii. 4. 2.

77. *to the Tower.* The Queen was arrested at Nottingham with Mortimer. She was made to surrender the enormous possessions which she had taken, was allowed three thousand pounds a year, and was sent to live in retirement at Castle Rising in Norfolk. The historians are very silent as to the Queen's relation to Mortimer, and the poet has followed them.

89. *boots not*, matters not, is of no importance. See note on i. 4. 63.

96. *to mourn.* Compare the last speech of Bolingbroke in Richard II, v. 6. 45, 52:

'Lords, I protest, my soul is full of woe.
. . . . . .
Come mourn with me for that I do lament.
. . . . . .
March sadly after; grace my mournings here;
In weeping after this untimely bier.'

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THE END.

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